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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTYFIRST SESSION

SRINAGAR

October 1961

Vol. II Part I

Papers of the Sections

Edited by

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.

Published by the

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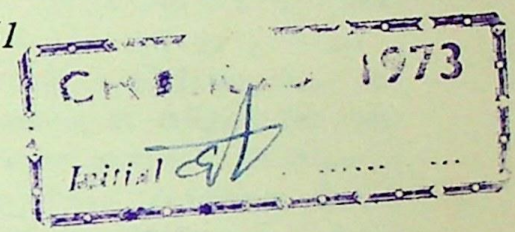

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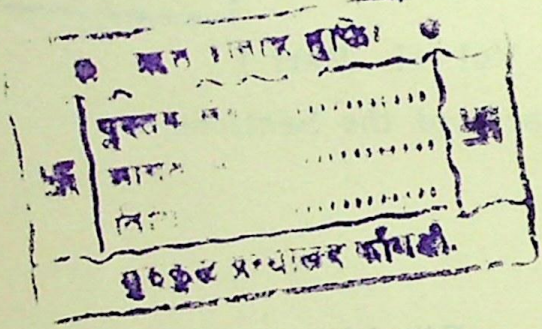

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PREFACE

Volume One of the Proceedings and Transactions of the XXIst Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Srinagar and Part II of Volume Two of Select Papers of three Sections- Iranian, Islamic Culture, and Arabic and Persian - were brought out on the eve of the XXIInd Session held in Gauhati. I have much pleasure in placing in the hands of the Members of the Conference on the eve of their meeting at Aligarh for their XXIIIrd Session Volume Two Part I which carries a selection of the Papers of the twelve other Sections of the Conference. Owing to the limited funds at the disposal of the Conference and the cost-spiral, we are sorry we have not been able to include here more Papers.

On behalf of the Conference, I desire to say that we are very grateful to the Central Sanskrit Board, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, for their generous grant towards the cost of publishing this volume. As the printing of the volume could not be taken on hand before the assistance of the Ministry was known, it was not possible to bring out the volume earlier.

In the printing of this volume, I have received assistance from Sri C. S. Sundaram. I am thankful to Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, who has also helped in the reading of the proofs. The Lakshmi Vijayam Press, Madras-5 must be thanked for undertaking the printing of this Volume.

University of
Madras
5-10-1966

V. RAGHAVAN
President, 21st Session,
A. I. O. C.

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President : Dr. Durgmohan Bhattacharya

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THE MOHENJO DARO CIVILIZATION

Basanta Kumar Chattopadhaya, Calcutta

Seals of "characteristic Indus pattern" were found at the ancient sites of Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia. The date of two of these has been fixed as 2500 B. C., while others are considered to be of later date. It thus appears that people went from India to Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia in those ancient times.

We also find in the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā that Vedic Āryans went from India and established a colony in Uru-Kshiti. Ṛ.V. VII. 100. 4 is as follows -

वि चक्रमे पृथिवीमेष एतां क्षेत्राय विष्णुर्मनुषे दशस्यन् ।
ध्रुवासो अस्य कीरयो जनास उरुक्षितिं सुजनिमा चकार ॥

"Vishnu traversed the world in order to give land to His devotees. Those who worship Him get a fixed abode. He created Uru-Kshiti".

Incidentally this verse shows that there was over-increase of population in Vedic India and it was necessary to search for fresh fields and pastures new in the wide world for the excess population. It does not fit in with the theory that Āryans composed the Vedas while entering India.

If, as is supposed, the Āryans entering India from outside, had composed the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā, it would not have been said that there was necessity to travel over the world to find place for the people. From the verse it is clear that when it was composed the people had lived in India, for a time sufficiently long to feel the pressure of population on the land. It is also to be remembered that Mohenjo Daro was a big city 3 or 4 miles in circumference so that the population might be estimated at one lac (vide Presidential speech of Dr. P. V. Kane in the 16th Session of the Historical Congress). It is also to be observed that the 7th maṇḍal in which the hymn occurs is included in the older portion of the Ṛg Veda which according to modern scholars must have been composed at the time of entering the Punjab.

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Again Ṛ.V. IX. 84. 1 runs thus -

पवस्व देवमादनो विचर्षणिरप्सा इन्द्राय वरुणाय वायवे ।
कृधी नो अद्य वरिवः स्वस्तिमदुरुक्षितौ गृणीहि दैव्यं जनम् ॥

"Oh Soma, flow for Indra, Varuṇa and Vāyu. Let the Gods assemble in Uru-Kshiti hearing the recitation of your mantras".

Ṛ.V. X. 118. 8 is as follows -

स त्वमग्ने प्रतीकेन प्रत्योष यातुधान्यः उरुक्षयेषु दीद्यत् ।

"Oh Agni, blaze in the houses of Uru and destroy the Rakshasas".

Ṛ.V. X. 118. 9 is as follows -

तं त्वा गीर्भिरुरुक्षया हव्यवाहं समीधिरे यजिष्ठं मानुषे जने ।

"The dwellers of Uru kindled you with hymns".

Ṛ.V. VIII. 68. 12 says -

उरु णस्तन्वे तन उरु क्षयाय नस्कृधि उरु णो यन्धि जीवसे ।

"Give Uru to our sons, grandsons. Give Uru for our residence. Give us our desired objects for our living".

The next verse is as follows -

उरुं नृभ्य उरुं गव उरुं रथाय पन्थाम् देववीतिं मनामहे ।

"Give Uru to our servants, to our cows, to our chariot. Also give a road (to our chariot). We shall perfom sacrifices to our Gods."

Uru being given to the chariot clearly shows that Uru is the name of a place. The interpretation of Sayana that Uru means "much" (i. e. many things) cannot obviously apply here. In this connection the chariots engraved on lime stone slabs from Ur and Kish are significant (Date : 3200 B. C. Vide Marshall II. pp. 554, 555). As we find from the seals found in Ur and Kish that people went from the Indus Valley to Mesopotamia in the third millenium B. C. and as we also find in the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā that Vedic Aryans went from India to Urukshiti and Uru, it may be inferred that Ur and Kish are corruptions of the Vedic words Uru and Kshiti. Ur is obviously an abbreviation of Uru Kshiti which is difficult to pronounce. Kishiti is easier. From

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Kishiti, Kish is an abbreviation. It has been observed that "seals from Mohenjo Daro have been found in both Elam (Western Persia) and Sumer (Mesopotamia) which argues that these two countries were visited by Indians. We have however no definite evidence that India was equally well known to these two countries". (Marshall Vol. p. II. 381).

It shows that it was not a case of mutual trade between India and Mesopotamia, but of colonizing Mesopotamia by Indians as the verses of the Ṛg Veda also indicate. In ancient Mesopotamia we not only find Ur and Kish but also Uru, Uruk, and Urkashdem (from Urukshitim) (Vide Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, Index). So many striking resemblances cannot be accidental. There were other resemblances with Sanskrit words in ancient Mesopotamia. Thus Nebuchadnazar may be a corruption of Naba-chanda-asura, Asarbanipal Asura-avanipal. In the 15th and 14th centuries B. C. Indo-European names are frequent among the Mitannian rulers. In the well known treaty between the Hittites and Mitannians Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Nāsatya and Indra are mentioned. A treatise on chariot racing has been found in the Hittite records using several nearly Sanskrit words, (e. g. aikavartan, teravartan, panchavartan) (Piggot, *Prehistoric India*, p. 251). "In the state of Mitanni these were obviously Indian inhabitants" says Hrozny *(History of Western Asia and Crete)*. It will thus appear that many Indians went to Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in ancient times and many Sanskrit or nearly Sanskrit words were in use. It would therefore not be unusual if from the Sanskrit words Uru, Uru-Kshiti, the corruptions Ur, Uruk, Uru Kish and Urkash were derived.

It may be objected that seals of Mohenjo Daro found a place in Mesopotamia in about 2500 B. C. whereas the generally accepted date of the Vedas is 1500 B. C. and it cannot therefore be concluded that the ancient seals found in Mesopotamia were connected with the advent of Vedic Indians to that country. But from the following considerations it will appear that the date of 1500 B. C. for the Vedas is incorrect. As observed by Winternitz "it has been conclusively proved especially by Buhler that the Vedas could never have been composed so late as 1500 B. C." (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 299). Dr. Winternitz thinks that the date of the Vedas should be taken as 2500 B. C. But from astronomical data furnished in the Ṛg Veda it has been calculated

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by Tilak and Jacobi independently that the date of the Vedas should be taken at the latest as 4000 B. C. The method of calculation may be briefly indicated here. The position of the sun on the vernal equinox is not a fixed point in the heavens but moves slowly along the ecliptic completing a revolution in 26000 years. If then the position of the sun on the vernal equinox at the time of any event is known, the date of the event can be calculated from the distance between that position and the present position of the sun at the time of the Vernal equinox. Certain verses in the Ṛg Veda saṁhitā indicate the position of the sun on the vernal equinox. The date of the composition of those verses can there from be calculated. This has been done independently by both Tilak and Jacobi, and they both get approximately the same date viz. 4000 or 4500 B. C. No mistake in their calculation has been pointed out by any scholar. On the other hand Tilak said in his Vedic chronology and Vedanga Jyotish that his calculations were accepted by Buhler, Barth and Winternitz in Europe and Bloomfield in America. There is therefore no reason why the calculations of Tilak and Jacobi should be rejected. Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta in his book *Ancient Indian Chronology* (published by the Calcutta University) has from other astronomical data calculated that the date of the Vedas should be 4000 B. C. His calculations were also approved by the Royal astronomer of London.

It appears that the first invasion of Mesopotamia by Aryans took place in 3500 B. C. (Hrozny p. 35). Hrozny thinks that it came from the other side of the Caucasus. But there is no proof in support of his theory. On the other hand as stated above from the seals it appears that Indians went to Mesopotamia about 2500 B. C. Marshall writes "Certain fragments of vases were found at Al Ubaid which were made of Indian potstone" (Vol. 1. p. 104). Hrozny gives the date of the Obeid culture as 4000 to 3500 B. C. (pp. 26-27). It thus appears that Indians went to Mesopotamia before 3500 B. C. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Aryan invasion of Mesopotamia in 3500 B. C. came from India and not from across the Caucasus as Hrozny thinks. As to the date of termination of Indus culture Marshall gave 2750 B. C. while Wheeler's gave 1500 B. C. In this respect Wheeler's date may be accepted as, since Marshall wrote, seals of a much later date have been discovered.

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Taking the date of destruction of Indus Civilization as 1500 B. C. and assuming that the date of the advent of the Aryans in India was the same as the date of the composition of the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā and further assuming that the date of the Ṛg Veda was 1500 B. C., Wheeler and Pigott have come to the conclusion that the Aryans invaded Mohenjo-Daro, killed the inhabitants and destroyed the town. As observed before, the Vedas were not composed in 1500 B. C. but long before, in 4000 B. C. at the latest. Hence the destruction of non-Aryan towns which are referred to in the Vedas could not include Mohenjo Daro which was destroyed thousands of years later. It has also been observed by Dr. P. V. Kane in his presidential address of the 16th All-India History Congress that Mohenjo Daro must have contained at least 1,00,000 inhabitants and that if there had been a general massacre (as alleged by Wheeler and Pigott) thousands of skeletons would have been found in the ruins of Mohenjo Daro but as a matter of fact only about 3 dozen skeletons have been found. It is more probable that Mohenjo Daro was deserted due to flooding of the Indus and some of the persons whose skeletons have been found might have been killed in a stampede at the time of flooding and some might have been killed by robbers.

Marshall says that, from the relics discovered at Mohenjo Daro it appears that Śiva and Śakti were worshipped at Mohenjo Daro. He argues that the Vedas do not contain a reference to the worship of Śiva and Śakti, and that the Vedas condemn the Śiśnadevas which term according to him refer to the worshippers of Śiva-liṅga. He thinks that before the Aryans came, the non-Aryans worshipped Śiva as the phallus, the Aryans at first condemned them, but afterwards adopted the practice of worshipping the phallus. Similarly they adopted Śakti worship from the non-Aryans. But all this reasoning appears to be wrong. In the first place, as stated before, the Vedas were older than Mohenjo Daro. In the next place the term Śiśnadevas does not mean the worshippers of Śiva-liṅga but persons who were too much addicted to sexual pleasures (as explained by Yāska and Sāyaṇa). In the next place Rudra of the Vedas is identical with Śiva of the Purāṇas. In the 16th chapter of Śukla Yajurveda it has been said that Rudra wielded the *pināka* bow, wore the skin of animals, had matted locks and a blue throat. These features are characteristic of Śiva and

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show that Rudra of the Vedas is identical with Śiva of the Purāṇas. Moreover in the same chapter of the Vedas Rudra is worshipped with the words

नमः शिवाय च नमः शिवतराय च

Also in Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā X. 92. 9 the word Śiva is used to denote the Supreme God.

As regards the Śakti Cult it may be observed that in ṚV. X. 125 (Devī Śūkta), the supreme deity is referred to in the feminine gender. So also in ṚV. X. 127 (Rātri Sūkta), seeds of Śakti worship can therefore be found in the Vedas. In the Khila portions of the ṚV. (which are fragments of lost Śākhās of the Vedas) there is a hymn to Goddess Durgā

तामग्निवर्णां तपसा ज्वलन्तीं वैरोचनीं कर्मफलेषु जुष्टाम् ।
दुर्गां देवीं शरणमहं प्रपद्ये सुतरसितरसे नमः ॥ (४-१-१२)

Śakti worship is of course elaborated in the Purāṇas, especially Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. But it is an accepted proposition that the Purāṇas were written by Vedic scholars to elucidate the Vedas. In Mahābhārata 1-1-267 it is stated that the meaning of the Vedas should be definitely understood with the help of the Purāṇas

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

Similar statements are found also in the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata etc. It is well known that the Vedas refer to the non-Aryans in terms of contempt. It is not therefore likely that the Aryans should adopt the method of worship of non-Aryans. In the Purāṇas it is stated that Śiva destroyed the towns of non-Aryans. This statement cannot be reconciled with the theory that Śiva was a non-Aryan God. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Devī Māhātmya) it is stated that there were wars between the Devas and Asuras and that the Supreme Goddess fought for the Devas and killed the Asuras. This account also shows that the Goddess was not a non-Aryan deity.

Thus the worship of both Śiva and Śakti is found in the Vedas. If such worship existed in Mohenjo Daro it could show that the religion of Mohenjo Daro was Vedic.

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Marshall writes: "Taken as a whole the religion of the people of Mohenjo Daro was so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguished from still living Hinduism" (Vol. I. Preface p. 7). The still living Hinduism is based on the Vedas and the Purāṇas which as stated above were also based on the Vedas.

The Ācharyas Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva etc. were great vedic scholars. They all say that their doctrines are based on the Vedas. There is no proof that the Purāṇas are of non-Aryan origin.

Marshall gives some reasons why he considers Mohenjo Daro older than the Vedas. He says that iron defensive armour and the horse are mentioned in the Vedas but they did not exist in Mohenjo Daro.

It may be replied that silver vessels have been found in Mohenjo Daro but silver is not mentioned in the Ṛg Veda. Hence Mohenjo Daro may be considered later than Ṛg Veda. Marshall says that iron also is not mentioned in the Ṛg Veda though mentioned in Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda. Hence it may be concluded that Mohenjo Daro was later than the Ṛg Veda. It is not stated in the Ṛg Veda that defensive armour made of iron was in use. Such armour might have been made of skin which might have existed in Mohenjo Daro and converted to earth in the course of time. In copper tablet No. 16 (plate xxvii of Marshall) the man appears clad in armour. Piggott writing after Marshall says that traces of the horse have been found in Mohenjo Daro (*Prehistoric India* p. 157).

It will thus appear that there is no evidence that Mohenjo Daro was earlier than the Ṛg Veda. It may therefore be concluded that the Verses of the Ṛg Veda quoted above together with the discovery of Indus seals in ancient Mesopotamia prove that Vedic Aryans went to Mesopotamia and founded colonies there in the third millenium B.C. Incidentally it fixes the date of the Vedas as 3000 B.C. at the latest.

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THE PARALLELISMS BETWEEN MITRĀ-VARUṆA IN ṚGVEDA AND MIθRA-AHURA IN AVESTA

Dastoor N. D. Minochehr Homji, M. A.
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"The affinity of the oldest form of the *Avestan* language with the dialect of the *Vedas* is so great in syntax, vocabulary, diction, metre, and general poetic style, that by mere application of phonetic law, the whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vedic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit. Although the religious reform of Zoraster brought about a very considerable displacement and transformation of mythological conception, still the agreement in detail, in mythology no less than in cult, are surprisingly numerous."

– Dr. A. A. Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology.*

Our Vedic references are from Ṛgveda V-V. 6-16 (serial nos. of the सूक्त्s in the Mandala 62-72) and the translations are from Wilson (Ashtekar & Co., Poona, 1926) vol. III-pp. 259-67 : H. H. V-V. 6: 1. "I have beheld the *permanent* orb of the sun... where *a thousand rays* abide together: *the one most excellent of the (embodied) forms of the devas.*" Cf. Yasna XXXVI. 6 (SBE. 31, p.285) "And to Thy most beauteous 'body' (AV. 'Kehrpa') do we make our deep acknowledgements, O Ahura Mazda! .....and to that one the highest of the high (such as the sun was called)!" The Avestan reference to the sun is : 'Hvare Xšaeta *amexsha* raeva aurvatāspa, or, the bright, *undying, shining, swift-horsed (-rayed)** sun' (SBE. XXIII, p. 352). Here both the underlined ideas find a closer parallel. [* The additions within are ours].

2. "Exceeding is that your *greatness*, Mitra and Varuna..... the one *chariot* of you two (perpetually) goes round." Yasht X (Mihir. SBE. 23, pp. 119-158) has (1) 'Verily, when I (Ahura) created Mithra, the lord of wide pastures (or better, the universal cementing principle), O Spitama! I created him *as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as Myself*, Ahura Mazda' Cf. Yt. VIII, 50 (ib. p. 107). As regards the chariot of Mitra (Mithra), Yt. X has a number of references: 47-48, 67-68, 124-25, 128-32. "With his arms lifted up towards Immortality, Mithra, *drives* forward from the shining Garo-nmāna (the Highest Heaven) *in a beautiful chariot* that drives on, ever-swift.....(ibid. 124, p. 152).

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6. "...for you two, who are sovereigns, and free from wrath, uphold *together a mansion of a thousand* columns." A similar picture is presented in Ys. 57. 21, and Yt. V. 101 (SBE. 31, p. 303 and ib. 23, p. 77 respectively). "WE worship Sraosha (Obedience to the commandments of Religion, the Daenâ or Dharma) whose house stands with its thousand pillars..." Again, "in each channel there stands a palace, well-founded..... with a thousand columns, well built....."

9. "Munificent Mitra and Varuna, protectors of the universe (it is yours to grant) exceeding and *perfect felicity*, such as it is impossible to disturb.....victory". Yt. X. 5 (ib. p. 120) has an interesting parallel: May he come to us for help! for joy; mercy ...(spiritual) health!.....victory (over evil-enemies)! .....for bliss! (or the condition of the blessed in the next world) (Cp. Rg. V. V. 11:2). V. V. 8:3 "That I may now pursue *the (right) direction*, may I proceed by the path *of Mitra*....." (Cp. V. V. 11:4). Yt. X. 3 (ib. p. 120): "....Fire, the sun of Ahura Mazda, gives *the straightest way* to those who lie not unto Mithra....." So *both Mitra and Mithra, as the highest ethical principle*, grant the strength to keep oneself on the righteous Path (the ऋतस्य पन्था): (Cp. also Yt. X. 86, 105, ib. pp. 141, 146) V. V. 9:2: 'They two.....in radiance, *who hear (invocations) from the greatest distance* ..... lords of the virtuous, ...are in movement (for the good of) each individual man'. Yt. X. 84, 85 (ib. pp. 140-41) have a feeling parallel: 'Whom (i.e. unto Mithra) the poor man (Av. driu=साधु of Bh. Gita. IV. 8) *who follows the good LAW* (Daenâ), when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help, with hands uplifted. "The voice of his wailing reaches upto the sky, it goes over the earth all around...*whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice or aloud.*"

5. "May we ever be in *the comprehensive guardianship of Mitra* and *free* from sin, enjoy, (Mitra) thy protection,....." and Yt. X. 103 (ib. p. 145) says 'Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving world, ...who never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda'; § 144 (ib. p. 157) again states... "Mithra, with a thousand ears, with a thousand eyes, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless and ever awake". God's vigilance, on the moral plane, is working round the clock,

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to check the erring and help the virtuous. V. V. 10 : 1 : "Man, endowed with intelligence, (adore) the two deities, *the destroyers* of foes ; "(Cf. V. V. 15 : 1). Yt. X. 23 (ib. p. 125) has a similar reference : "Take us out of distress, take us out of distresses, O Mithra ! Then bring down *terror upon the persons who lie unto Mithra*, then take away the strength from their arms.....".

Yt. X.59 (ib. p. 134) runs: "Grant that we.....may smite all our foes, all our enemies.....*the (wilfully) blind*, and *the (wilfully) deaf*" (cf. also § 48).

6. "'.....Mitra and Varuṇa, who are *far-seeing* : may we proceed to your spacious and much frequented *kingdom*". Yt. X. 61 furnishes us with the following parallel : " (Mithra is) *a watcher fully awake*, undeceivable, a creature (a creation) of *wisdom*". As far as the 'kingdom' of Mithra is concerned, §§ 4, 77, 78, 101, 111 give us the idea of his 'sovereignty'–he is a 'vispanam daxynam daŋu-paiti', the sovereign Lord of all the domains (145, ib. p. 158). V. V. 11 : 3 . " and protect the worshipper from *the malignant*" § 59 (ib. p. 134) has a pointed parallel : "Grant that we.....may smite all the malice of Daevas* (asuras) and Men" "(*Cp. Ys. 49. 4. SBE, 31, p. 163 and Dr. Taraporevala's Gathas p. 705 for a clear definition of the Daevas). Again Vendidād VIII. 21 (SBE. IV, p. 101) has this prayer : "Keep us from our h ater O Mazda and Aramaiti Spenta ! Never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness (of Asha or Ṛta)!" V.V. 13 : 1 "Mitra and Varuṇa, you uphold *the three realms of light the three heavens*". For a closer parallel, we have Yt. XXII. 15 (SBE. 23, p. 317) dealing with the Eschatology : "The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him (i) in the GOOD THOUGHT Paradise (HU-MATA);

"The second step (ii) in the Good word Paradise (HU-UKHTA)"

"the third step (iii) in the Good-DEED Paradise (HU-VARŚTA)"

"the fourth step (iv) in the Endless Lights (ANAγRA RAOCHĀ)

3. "I worship you, M and V, at all seasons, for the sake of *riches*, for *prosperity and happiness* : (58, ib. p. 133) : " Grant us these boons, viz riches, good conscience and bliss, good fame

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(here) and a good soul (hereafter), wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness". What a fine composition of real happiness and riches that are indestructible and unruffled!

V–V. 15 : 1 "M and V, *scatterers of foes*, destroyers of enemies, come to...sacrifice" Cf. (ib. p. 144) §§97. 134 : "Aṇgra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; Aeshma, the evil-doing, the long-handed Bûshyasta (the spirit of Sloth, the hotbed of all vices) all the Daevas unseen.....flee away in fear" (cf. ib. §§128-132, wherein the immortal spirit of Moral justice is shown riding in his chariots, with which are fixed various types of arms and weapons that work havoc in the hostile hosts, who violate the basic values of life).

V–V. 15 : 2 "*Sagacious* Mitra and Varuṇa, you reign over all:" (ib. 107, p. 147): "Should the heavenly wisdom in the earthly man be a hunderd times greater, it would not rise so high as *the heavenly wisdom in the heavenly Mithra* whose ear hears well, who *has a thousand senses* and sees every man that tells a lie. Mithra.....drives in the awfulness of royalty" (the Vedas do speak of Mitra–Varuna as royal, imperial, sovereign rulers : V–V. 7 : 2, ib. 12 : 2) V-V. 16 : 2 "Steady are you in your functions, whom men animate by (their) devotion : come and sit down upon the sacred grass to drink the *Soma* libation....accept with satisfaction our sacrifice ....." and Yt. X. 32 (ib. p. 127) says in consonance with § 57 : "Listen unto our *sacrifice* (AV. Yasna, SK. यज्ञ) O Mitra! Be thou pleased with our *Yagña* ...come and sit at our *Yasna*! Accept our (Haoma) libations !.....Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garo-nmāna! " (cf. Yasna. LXVIII. 9 : SBE. XXXI. p. 322).

And let us close in the illustrious company of the author of Yasht. X, dedicated to MITHRA : "We sacrifice (Yazamaide) unto Mithra-Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy 'Gods' (*Yazatas*, the Devas, the radiant adorable Powers of the Supreme); we sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries" (Vīspanam Daxyunam Daŋhu-paiti).

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THE VEDIC CONCEPTION OF "TIRTHA"

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"Tīrtha" (nueter) is a Ṛg-Vedic word which has acquired many shades of meaning during the successive stages in the growth of Sanskrit. It is derived from the root tṛ (tar) having the primary sense of "to cross over or to carry through". It is formed with the suffix"tha" like other Ṛg-Vedic words as " nī-thá ", "yū-thá", "rik-thá", "uk-thá" and "ár-tha", derived respectively from "nī, yū, ric, vac and ṛ(ar) respectively. The root "tar" occurs in the Ṛg-Veda with the alternative forms "tir" and "tur" which also, like"tar", preserve the idea of motion. The root "tar" is preserved in the words "táraḥ" and "taráṇiḥ"; "tir" is contained in "tirás" and "tiri-añc" and "tur" occurs in forms like "turá and "turáṇa"[1]

The word "tīrthá" occurs eight times in the Ṛg-Veda, twice as "tīrthám" in the accusative singular form and six times as "tīrthe" in the locative singular form. Of these occurrences of the word, one each, is associated with Agni and Soma and two each are associated with Agni, Indra, Aśvins and Viśve-devāḥ. It is used in the sense of a watering or bathing place or in the sense of a passage leading to or a ford through water.[2]

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1. tárah = Crossing; passage.

Ṛ.V. II-13-2. अरमयः सरपसस्तराय···(Sāyaṇa तरणाय)

Ṛ.V. VIII-96-1...नृभ्यस्तराय सिंधवः सुपाराः। (Sāy. तरणाय)

"taráṇih" = moving towards a goal, quick, energetic.

Ṛ.V. 1-50-4 तरणिर्विश्वदर्शतो ज्योतिष्कृदसि सूर्य।

(Sāy. तरणिः तरिता···महतोऽध्वनो गंता)

tirás = through; across.

also in AV. XIII-2-4, 36.

"turá" quick. RV. X. 96.7..... स्थिराय हिन्वन् हरयो हरी तुरा।

(Sāy. तुरौ त्वरमाणौ हरी)

"turáṇa" swift. Ṛ.V. I. 121. 5 ... राधः सुरेतस्तुरणे भुरण्यू।

(Sāy. हे इन्द्र तुरणे क्षिप्रकारिणे तुभ्यं)

2. Tīrtham occurs mostly in the sense of a ford :

Agni. Ṛ.V. VIII. 72.7 तीर्थे सिन्धोरधि स्वरे ··· (Sāy. कस्याश्चित् सरस्वत्यादि प्रख्यातायां नद्याः तीर्थे)

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In the later phases of Vedic literature, the idea of sanctity came to be definitely associated with the original sense of the word.[3] In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta Sūtras, it came to be

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Soma – ṚV. IX. 97. 53 ····· अधि श्रुते श्रवाय्यस्य **तीर्थे** ··· ।

(Sāy. सर्वैः श्रवणीयस्य सोमस्य श्रुते प्रसिद्धे श्रुतस्य शब्दस्य तीर्थे **स्थाने** अस्माकं स्वभूते **यज्ञे**)

Indra - ṚV. I. 169-6 **तीर्थे** नार्यः पौंस्यानि चक्रुः तस्थुः ।

(Sāy. अश्वाः शत्रोः पौंस्यानि **युद्धमार्गे** इव तस्थुः । स्वामिनः पौंस्यानि बलानि **राजवीथ्यां** यथा तिष्ठन्ति तद्वत् ।)

Indra-ṚV. I-173-11. **तीर्थे**नाच्छा तातृषाणमोको दीर्घो न सिध्रम् ।

(Sāy.- तीर्थे प्रसिद्धे **मार्गे** अच्छा आभिमुख्येन समीपे वर्तमानमोकः पानीयादिकं सदनं पिपासायुक्तं यथाऽविलम्बेन प्रीणाति-स यथा तत्सदनमागच्छतीत्यर्थः ।)

Aśvins—ṚV. I-46-8. अरित्रं वां दिवस्पृथु **तीर्थे** सिन्धूनां रयः ।

(Sāy. युवयोः विस्तीर्णमरित्रं गमनसाधनं नौरूपं सिन्धूनां तीर्थे **अवतरणप्रदेशे** वर्तते ।)

Aśvins-ṚV. X-40-13. कृतं **तीर्थं** सुप्रपाणां शुभस्पती.... ।

(Sāy. हे अश्विनौ, उदकस्य स्वामिनौ, युवां पतिगृहं गच्छन्त्या मम **तीर्थं पानाय** सुप्रपाणं कृतं कुरुतम् ।)

Viśvedevāḥ—ṚV. X-31-3....**तीर्थे** न दस्ममुपयेत्यूमाः ।

(Sāy. **तीर्थे** न यथा **गङ्गादितीर्थे** तर्पणमुखे विसृष्टा अपामंशा देवसंघमुपगच्छन्ति, तद्वदस्माभिर्दत्ता हविर्भागा दर्शनीयं देवसंघमुपगच्छन्ति ।)

Viśvedevāḥ-ṚV. X-114-7. आप्रानं **तीर्थं** क इह प्रवोचत् ।

(Sāy. - व्यापनशीलं तीर्थं **पापोत्तारणसमर्थं चात्वालोत्करमध्यदेशं** इह आस्मिन् यज्ञे कः प्रवोचत् - को वक्ति ?)

3. T. S. 6-1-1-2. **तीर्थे** स्नाति, **तीर्थे** हि ते तां प्रावेशयन्.... ।

AV. 18. 4-7. **तीर्थैस्तरन्ति** प्रवतो महीरिति यज्ञकृत सुकृतो येन यन्ति ।

(Sāy. तीर्थैः**स्तरणसाधनैः यज्ञादिभिः** प्रवतः प्रकृष्टाः महीः महतीः आपदः तरन्ति अतिक्रामन्ति-इति एवं यज्ञादीनि **आपदुत्तारकाणि** भवन्ति)

VS. 16-42 नमस्**तीर्थ्याय** च कुल्याय च ।

VS. 16-61 ये **तीर्थानि** प्रचरन्ति सृकाहस्ता निषङ्गिणः ।

VS. 30-16 **तीर्थेभ्य** आन्दम्... ।

Cch. up. (8. 15-1) अहिंसन् सर्वभूतानि अन्यत्र **तीर्थेभ्यः** ।

(**तीर्थं** नाम **शास्त्रानुज्ञाविषयः**, ततोऽन्यत्र सर्वाश्रमिणामेतत्समानम् । **तीर्थेभ्योऽन्यत्र अहिंसैव** इत्यन्ये वर्णयन्ति Śāṅkh. Bhāṣya).

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associated with the sacrifice in the sense of the passage leading to the altar between the "cātvāla" (trench) and "Utkara", mound of earth.[4] In the last phases of Vedic literature and in the epics the idea of purity and sanctity and the consequential sense of reverence came to be associated with the word "tīrthá" irrespective of the object denoted by it-water, place or person. And the central idea of "crossing over or carrying through" appears to dominate the various senses of the word.[5]

Derived from the root "tar" 'to cross', the sense of crossing through water was originally associated with the word "tīrthá. It

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4. Ṣad. B. 3-1. तेनान्तरेण प्रतिपद्यन्ते चात्वालं चोत्करं चैतद्वै देवानां **तीर्थम्**।
also Vide Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūtra 5-14-2.
Kāty. Śr. Sūtra 5-5-11, 10-2-13, 14-3-16.
Āśv. Śr. Sūtra 4-10-9-9.
Lāṭy. Śr. Sūtra 1-5-4.

The above meaning of tīrtha is pressed into service by Sāyaṇa in his bhāṣya on RV. X-114-7.

ŚB. 12-2-1-1. तद्यत्प्रायणीयमतिरात्रमुपयन्ति यथा **तीर्थेन** समुद्रं प्रस्नायुस्तादृक्तत्।
G.B. I, 5-2. **तीर्थेन** हि प्रतरन्ति तद्यथा समुद्रं तीर्थेन प्रतरेयुः।

5. Sacred river, water:
अकर्दममिदं **तीर्थं** भरद्वाज निशामय। रमणीयं प्रसन्नाम्बु सन्मनुष्यमनो यथा।
Rām. 1-2-6.
The Anuśāsana Parvan of M. Bhārata devotes a chapter to the elucidation of the conception of tīrtha.
अगाधे विमले शुद्धे सत्यतोये धृतिह्रदे। स्नातव्यं मानसे **तीर्थे** सत्यमालम्ब्य शाश्वतम्॥
परस्त्रियं योऽभिवदेत्**तीर्थे** ... Manu Smṛti 8-356.
शुचिमनो यद्यस्ति **तीर्थेन** किम् Bhartṛ. 2-45.
तीर्थाभिषेकजां शुद्धिं Raghuvaṁ. 1-85.

Sacred person or preceptor
वासुदेवेन **तीर्थेन** तात गच्छस्व संशमम् M. Bh. V. 4212.
दूरादेव परीक्षेत ब्राह्मणं वेदपारगम्। **तीर्थं** तद्व्यकव्यानां प्रदाने सोऽतिथिः स्मृतः॥ Manu Smṛti 3-130.
मया **सुतीर्थादभिनयविद्या** सुशिक्षिता। Mālav. II-6.

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thus meant the passage leading to a watering or bathing place, the place where it is fordable, or the water itself. When metaphorically used in the sense of the passage leading to the sacrificial altar or in the sense of the sacrifice itself a halo of sanctity came to be ascribed to the word. The sacrifice is acclaimed in the Brāhmaṇa texts as the ritual "par excellence,"[6] capable of taking the sacrificer across all dangers and sins. Sometimes, owing to the relationship of proximity, the emphasis from the sense of water shifts to the bank or the place contiguous to the water or river. It is also found that sometimes the idea of proximity to water is completely given up and the word means any sacred place or shrine far away from rivers. The word is often metaphorically used in the sense of a ritual or sacrifice that saves the doer thereof from danger.[7]

In some places, the idea of being right or proper as conducive to success or fulfilment is conveyed by the word. Thus it means the right or proper way, order, moment, place or person leading to success.[8] The idea of leading rightly is contained in the word when it means a leader or guide. Further, the ideas of purity and sanctity invariably lead to the idea of reverence. These

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6. यज्ञो वै महिमा VS. 11-6; ŚB. 6-3-1-18.
   यज्ञो वै देवानां महः ŚB. 1-9-1-11.
   यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म V.S. 1-1; ŚB. 1-7-1-5.

7. तरन्ति दुष्कृतानि एभिरिति····तरणसाधनैः यज्ञादिभिः Bhāṣya on A.V. 18.4.7.

8. in the proper or right way:—
   तीर्थेन ŚB. 14-9-1-10; Kāty. Śr Sūtra 17-3-23.
   Bṛh. up. सवै गौतम तीर्थेनाच्छासा इति। (6-2-7).

अतीर्थेन in the improper way.
   ŚB. 11-4-2-14.
   Lāṭy. Śr. Sūtra 3-4-5.
   Gobhila Śr. Sūtra 1-2-20.

the right place.

the proper moment. स तदा लब्धतीर्थोऽपि न बबाधे निरायुधम् Bhāg. Pur. 3-19. 4.

the proper person. तीर्थं तद्वद्व्यकल्यानां - Manu Smṛti. 3-130.

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ideas are conveyed by the word when it means a teacher or spiritual guide. In post-Vedic literature also, the idea of sanctity continued to persist in the meaning of the word and thus it meant the sacred waters in any form, flowing as a river or stagnant like a well, tank or lake, possessed of divine potency, a sacred place of pilgrimage near or away from the holy waters or a holy person- all these deserving reverence thanks to their sanctity and potency to carry the person resorting to them across danger in any form. Further, the original idea of "crossing or helping to cross over water" is given up in favour of the more general and metaphorical idea of crossing or helping to cross over the dangerous waters of sin and ignorance. Thus a sacred river, place or shrine helps one to cross over sin; a sacred person or teacher helps one to cross over ignorance also.

In all the different meanings of the word "tīrthá" noticed above, the central idea of "leading to, fording or affording help to cross over water" in a concrete sense and over dangers in the form of sin and ignorance, in the metaphorical sense, can be observed.

Tīrthá in the masculine form is found from the epic literature onwards.

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THE WORD BṚHADDIVA IN THE ṚGVEDA & STARS

Dr. R. N. Vale, Poona.

While studying the navigational significance of stars in the Vedas I was attracted by the word bṛhaddiva in ṚV 1.24.10. On a closer examination and enquiry I found that it could be identified with stars: the Big Dipper. I, therefore, intend to present my finding to the scholars for their critical appreciation.

Sea-faring and navigation was practised on a very large scale in ancient India. Sea-traffic with regard to passengers and merchandise, naval expeditions and warfare was continuous: ṚV 4.56.2; 10. 101. 2; 9. 70. 10; 3. 32. 14; AV 5. 19. 8; 1. 48. 3. God Varuṇa was the Sea-God (Samudriyaḥ) and was worshipped in times of emergency. He knew the path of ships and gave protection to the shippers (ṚV 1. 25. 7; 7. 66. 3; 7. 88. 3-4).

The sage Agastya, who was the Columbus of ancient India, had offered fervent prayers in a number of hymns, ranging from the ṚV 1. 165 to 191 to various deities. Amongst these those that were offered in honour of Maruts, the storm-gods, remind us of a navigation on the stormy sea looking to the heavens for safety and protection. The Word 'bṛhaddiva' in the stanza:

'ā no' vobhirmaruto yāntvacchā
jyeṣṭhebhirvā *bṛhaddivaiḥ* sumāyāḥ
adha yadeṣām niyutaḥ paramāḥ

samudrasya cid dhanayanta pāre' ṚV. 1. 167. 2 seems to convey the big lights: etymologically, 'bṛhad dīvyanti/te, √div, to shine: shining in a big way.' The word is qualified by the adjective 'jyeṣṭhebhiḥ', the oldest, the most excellent and so forth, which helps to define 'bṛhaddiva' as the 'big dipper' or the great bear (Ursa Major) indicating the position of the pole star, very useful to a seafarer on rough seas to determine the right direction. Sāyaṇa interprets the expression, 'bṛhaddiva', m. to mean 'maṇimuktādi-dhanaiśc (sahitāḥ),' or the Maruts carrying gems, pearls, etc. Poets have very often compared these asterisms with gems, and pearls, scattered all over the firmament. Others have taken the expression as adjective, meaning 'mahādīptiyuktaiḥ'

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qualifying 'avobhih' meaning protections. The particle 'vā' combines two nouns according to Ṣāyaṇa who says, "tasmād rakṣaṇaiḥ dhanaiścāyāntvityarthaḥ" and two adjectives according to others. The meanings noted in the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier Williams are : bṛhaddiva, mfn.

(1) Belonging to the lofty sky, heavenly, celestial;
m. (2)—with Ātharvaṇa-N. of the author of ṚV X, 120;
°vā f. (3) N. of a goddess (associated with Ila and others).

These meanings do not cover the meaning given by Sāyaṇa. Grassman, Oldenberg, Geldner and others including Sāyaṇa do not express the meaning suggested hitherto in accordance with the context. It is a masculine noun in plural here : bṛhaddivāḥ = °devāḥ. Hence, the first half of the stanza will mean, "May the Maruts, possessed of great supernatural powers, come to us with protections and the oldest or the most excellent stars : the Big Dipper." The word 'niyutaḥ' in the second half does not merely mean a team of horses or mares; for these are distinct from the ordinary horses and mares ('laukikāśvavilakṣaṇāḥ'). The vehicles of Maruts are usually 'pṛṣatīs' and those of Vāyu are 'niyuts' (cf. 'harī indrasya rāsabhāvaśvinoḥ..pṛṣatyo marutām..niyuto vāyoriti' Nighaṇṭu 1.15). Naturally, niyuts have the value of air-ships or navy having perhaps the shape of a horse. Thus the contextual meaning of the second half will be : "then the ships or air-ships belonging to these will enable us to speed safely across the ocean."

It is the ordinance of the god Varuṇa to stars : the Big Dipper and the Moon, to shine in order to guide the course of ships and travellers at night.

amī ya ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā naktaṁ dadṛśre kuha cid diveyuḥ
adabdhāni varuṇasya vratāni vicākaśaccandramā naktameti
ṚV. 1. 24. 10.

Yāska looks upon the word 'Ṛkṣāḥ' as denoting all stars (Ni. 3.20) but the tradition preserved by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa identified it with the Big Dipper : saptarṣīnuha sma vai pura-ṛkṣā ityācakṣate' S. B. 2. 1. 2. 4, The Jewish name Mariam meaning the star of the sea probably refers to this.

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THE WORD MANIṢĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA

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The word Manīṣā, which occurs not less than 65 times in the Ṛgveda is variously interpreted. Sāyaṇa, for instance, in a majority of passages, explains the word as meaning either 'buddhi'[1] or 'stuti'[2] and in a few passages as 'stuti-lakṣaṇā Vāk'[3], 'mati'[4] 'svecchā'[5], 'jñāna'[6], 'prajñā'[7], 'īpsitārtha'[8], or as an adjective meaning 'manasaḥ iśitrī'[9]. Max Muller[10] renders the word into English either as 'thought'[11] or 'prayer.'[12] Oldenberg[13] translates the

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1. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I. 54. 8; I. 70. 1; I. 91. 1; I. 94. 1; I. 112. 24; I. 126. 1; I. 165. 10; III. 8. 5; III. 58. 2; V. 17. 2; VI. 47. 3; VIII. 59. 6; IX. 95. 5; X. 20. 10; X. 29. 3: X. 29. 4; X. 114. 6; X.129. 4.
2. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I. 62. 11; I. 76. 1; I. 110. 6; II. 20. 1, III. 33. 5; III. 38. 1; III. 57.1; IV. 6. 1; IV. 11. 2; IV. 41.9; V. 11.5; V. 47.1; V. 83.10; VI. 49.4; VI.66.11; VI. 67. 2; VII. 22. 4; VII. 24. 2; VII. 34. 1; VII. 70. 7; VII. 71. 6; VII. 85. 1; VII. 99.6; VIII. 96 11; IX. 95.3; X. 4.6; X. 28.5; X. 77.8; X. 94. 14; X. 111. 1; X. 124. 9.
3. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I. 101. 7; III. 57.4; IV. 11.3; X. 26. 1.
4. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on VI. 34. 1.
5. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I. 186. 1.
6. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on I. 62. 2; IV. 5.3.
7. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on VIII. 72.3.
8. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on X. 45. 5.
9. Cf. Sāyaṇa's commentary on IX. 68. 8; IX. 86. 17; IX. 96.7; X. 97. 34.
10. Cf. Vedic Hymns, Part 1; Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vāyu and Vāta; Oxford, 1891.
11. Cf. VI. 66. 11.
12. Cf. X. 77. 8.
13. Vedic Hymns, Part II; Hymns to Agni (Mandalas I-V); Oxford 1897.

पुस्तकालय

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word as ' (pious) thought'[14], 'prayer'[15], 'thoughtful mind'[16] or 'wise thoughts'.[17] Macdonell[18] interprets the word as connoting 'thought',[19] 'wisdom'[20], 'prayer'[21], or 'hymn of praise'[22]. Geldner[23] translates the word as 'Sinnen'[24], 'Gedanken'[25] 'Bedacht'[26], 'Uberlegung'[27], 'Weisheit'[28], 'Geist'[29], 'Nachsinnen'[30], 'Nachdenken'[31], 'Erkenntnis'[32], 'Vorstellung'[33], 'Dichterworte'[34], 'Lied'[35],

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14. Cf. I. 70.1 ; I. 76.1 ; III 8. 5.
15. Cf. IV. 5. 3 ; IV. 6. 1 ; V. 11. 5.
16. Cf. I. 94. 1.
17. Cf. IV. 11. 2 ; IV. 11. 3.
18. Vedic Reader.
19. Cf. VII. 71. 6.
20. Cf. X. 129. 4.
21. Cf. V. 11. 5
22. Cf. V. 83. 10
23. Der Rigveda Vol. I-111 (Harvard Oriental Series Vols. 33-35)
24. i. e. thought intellect Cf. I. 61. 2 ; I. 62. 11 ; IV. 5. 3 ; VI. 49. 4 ; X. 28. 5 ; X. 29. 4.
25. i. e. thoughts; ideas Cf I. 91. 1 ; IV. II. 2 ; IV. 11. 3 ; VI. 34. 1 ; VI. 47. 3 ; IX. 95.3. IX. 96. 7 ; IX. 97. 34 ; X. 45. 5 ; X. 94. 14.
26. i. e. consideration, reflection, Cf. I. 94. 1 ; I. 165. 10 ; III. 8. 5.
27. i. e. reflection, Cf. I. 126. 1.
28. i. e. Wisdom, Cf. I. 54. 8.
29. i. e. intellect, Cf. II. 20. 1
30. i. e. Wisdom, Cf. III. 57. 4 ; X. 124. 9.
31. i. e. reflection, Cf. VIII. 59. 6 ; X. 114. 6.; X. 129. 4.
32. i. e. knowledge, Cf. X. 177. 2.
33. i. e. imagination, Cf. V. 17. 2 ; VIII. 72. 3.
34. i. e. poem, Cf. VI. 66. 11.
35. i. e. Song, hymn, Cf. VII. 99. 6 ; VIII. 96. 11.

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'Dichtung'[36], Dichten'[37], 'Gedicht'[38], 'Andacht'[39], 'Gebet'[40], or 'Ansinnen'[41], Grassmann[42] enumerates seven meanings as 'weisheit (der Gotter)',[43] 'Weisheit, geistiges Verstandniss (der Menschen) namentlich;[44] mehr als man begreifen oder sich vorstellen kann;[45] Andacht;'[46] Andachtslied, 'Gebet'[47] Huld (der Gotter),[48] Anschlag Plan'[49].

The word Manīṣā is derived from the root 'man' ('to think') with the addition of the suffix 'īṣā' (fem)[50]. Thus it means 'thought' and in the consonance of the context and tone of the Ṛgveda 'pious thought'. This derivative meaning is often understood in its expanded sense viz. intelligence, wisdom, conception, imagination etc.

A careful analysis of the passages wherein the word Manīṣā occurs reveals that the word denotes a 'thoughtful hymn'. To explain, Manīṣā refers to a reflective type of hymn containing

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36. i. e. poem, Cf. I. 76. 1; I. 101. 7; I. 110. 6; III. 57. 1; IV. 41. 9; V. 47. 1; VII. 22. 4; VII. 34. 1; IX. 86. 17; IX. 95. 5; X. 4. 6; X. 26. 1.; X. 29. 3
37. i. e. to compose poem, Cf. III. 58. 2; IV. 6. 1.
38. i. e. poem, Cf. I. 112. 24; III. 38. 1; IV. 41. 8; V 11. 1; VI. 67. 2; VII. 24. 2.; VII. 70. 7; VII. 71. 6; VII. 85. 5; X. 20. 10; X: 111. 1;
39. i. e. prayer or meditation, Cf. I. 186. 1.
40. i. e. prayer, Cf. I. 70. 1; V. 83. 10; IX. 68. 8; X. 77. 8.
41. i. e. hope, desire, Cf. III. 33.5.
42. Worterbuch Zum Ṛg-Veda. 1955.
43. i. e. wisdom, (of the gods).
44. i. e. wisdom; spiritual understanding (of men).
45. i. e. more than what man can comprehend or conceive.
46. i. e. meditation.
47. i. e. prayer-song; prayer.
48. i. e. homage or grace (of the gods).
49. i. e. proposal, plan.
50. Cf. Wackernagel, J. Altindische Grammatic, Band II, 2, Göttingen, 1954; Para 283. p. 463.

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mostly pious thoughts. The association of the roots like Arc[51], Ci[52], Dhi[53], nam[54], nu[55], Bhṛ[55a], Vac[56], Vah[57], Vṛdh[58], hu[59], and hu[60], with the word Manīṣā clearly indicates that the latter should be interpreted in the sense of a hymn-a reflective hymn-and not merely as meaning 'thought'. To elucidate, in passages like अभितष्टेव दीधया मनीषाम् । इन्द्रं मनीषा अभ्यर्चति श्रुतम् । ; विसृष्टधेना भरते सुवृक्तिरियमिन्द्रं जोहुवती मनीषा । ; सोमं मनीषा अभ्यनूषत स्तुभः । ; and विविक्वानग्निर्मह्यं प्रेदु वोचन्मनीषाम् । ; it is obvious that the word Manīṣā denotes a hymn. Besides, the close association of Manīṣā with other hymns like Gi.[66] Stoma[67], Uktha[68], Stubh[69], and Sāman[70] justifies our interpretation. The imagery of a vehicle[71], chariot[72], cow[73], boat[74], beloved

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51. Cf. I. 101. 7.
52. Cf. X. 124. 9.
53. Cf. II. 20. 1 ; III. 38. 1.
54. Cf. IX. 95. 3.
55. Cf. IX. 68. 8 ; IX. 86. 17.
55a. Cf. I. 126. 1 ; VII. 24. 2 ; X. 111. 1.
56. Cf. III. 57. 4 ; IV. 5. 3.
57. Cf. X. 20. 10.
58. Cf. VII. 99. 6.
59. Cf. I. 110. 6.
60. Cf. III. 33. 5 ; V. 47. 1 ; VII. 24. 2.
61. Cf. III. 38. 1a.
62. Cf. I. 101. 7c.
63. Cf. VII. 24. 2. cd.
64. Cf. IX. 68. 8b.
65. Cf. IV. 5. 3 cd.
66. Cf. VI. 41. 8; VI. 34. 1; VII. 70. 7; VII. 71. 6; IX. 96. 7; X. 20. 10.
67. Cf. I. 94. 1; I. 126. 1.
68. Cf. IV. 11. 3.
69. Cf. IX. 68. 8; IX. 86. 17.
70. Cf. IV. 5. 3.
71. Cf. X. 29. 3c.
72. Cf. III. 38. 1; VII. 34. 1; X. 4. 6.
73. Cf. III. 57. 1.
74. Cf. VIII. 96. 11 ab.

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or wife[75] etc. which is quite common in the context of a hymn, is also used in the context of Manīṣā. The poet of Manīṣā is referred to as Kavi[76], Vipra[77], arcin[78], Gṛṇānah[79], apas[80], etc. Some of the epithets of Manīṣā like asamā[81], Śamtamā[82], apnasvatī[83], and bṛhatī[84], are also employed as epithets of other hymns. These facts not only corroborate but also strengthen our conclusion viz. that Manīṣā denotes a hymn.

However in nine passages (as discussed below) the word Manīṣā is to be interpreted in its extended derivative sense viz. thought, imagination or wisdom, on account of its unusual context. At I. 61. 2[85], the word Manīṣā (inst.) is in proximity with the words 'hṛdā' and 'manasā' and is to be construed with 'dhiyah marjayanta'. Hence the word manīṣā in the above passage, is to be interpreted in its instrumental sense viz. with wisdom (and not in its sociative sense). At I. 165 10[86] and at

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75. Cf. I. 62. 11.
76. Cf. X. 124. 9; X. 177. 2.
77. Cf. VII. 22. 4.
78. Cf. VII. 22. 4.
79. Cf. IV. 11. 2.
80. Cf. III. 8. 5.
81. Cf. I. 54. 8; also Cf. Asamam brahma at X. 89. 3; Asamāni brahmāṇi at VII. 43. 1
82. Cf. I. 76. 1; also of 'Śamtamaḥ Stomaḥ at I. 16. 7; Śāmtamā brahmāṇi at V. 13. 10; Śamtamā gīḥ at V. 42. 1; V. 43. 8, Śamtamāni vacāmsi at VI. 32. 1 etc.
83. Cf. I. 112. 24; also Apnasvatī dhī at X. 42. 3 and Apnasvatīm...vācam at I. 112. 24.
84. Cf. III. 33. 5; VI. 49. 4; VII. 99. 6; also cf. Bṛhatī gīh at V. 43. 8; VII. 99. 6; Bṛhat manma at IV. 5. 6; Bṛhadbhiḥ atkaih at II. 11. 5
85. Cf. Indrāya hṛdā manasā maṇīṣā pratnāya patye dhiyomarjayanta I. 61. 2 cd.
86. Cf. ekasya cin me vibhvastvojo yā nu dadhṛṣvān kṛṇavai manīṣā; at I. 165. 10 ab.

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X. 28. 5[87], Manīṣā belongs to Indra and hence it denotes the thought, will or desire of Indra. Obviously in these passages, we cannot understand Manīṣā in the sense of 'hymn composed by Indra'. At III. 58. 2[88], Manīṣā of Paṇis is referred to. Paṇis, in the Ṛgveda, are sometimes referred to as liberal donors and recipients of praise but not as composers of a hymn. Hence Manīṣā in the above passage, refers to the desire of the Paṇis. Manīṣā of 'brahman' at IX. 97. 34[89], indicates the thought-thoughtful contents-of 'the brahman' (a hymn). The phrase paro manīṣayā at V. 17. 2[90] and VIII. 72. 3[91] is understood as 'beyond thought, or imagination.' Manīṣā, at X. 114. 6[92], refers to the wisdom (of the priests), for with wisdom-reflective discourses-the greatness of the sacrifice can be measured. At X. 129. 4[93], the word Manīṣā (inst) is to be construed with 'hṛdi pratīṣya' and hence it refers to the wisdom (of the wise ones).

Manīṣā as its derivative sense indicates is a thoughtful hymn. It is bṛhatī[94] as it contains deep reflection. On account of its pious contents it is pure[95] and brilliant[96]. It does not need any

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87. Cf. kathā ta etadahamā ciketam gṛtsasya pākastavaso manīṣām at X. 28. 5ab

88. Cf. Jarethām asmad vi paṇer manīṣām at III. 58. 2c

89. Tisro vāca īrayati pra vahnirṛtasya dhītim brahmaṇo manīṣām at IX. 97. 34.

90. Cf. Tam nākam citraśociṣam mandram paro manīṣayā (supply manye) at V. 17. 2 cd.

91. Cf. Antaricchanti tam jane Rudram paro manīṣayā at VIII. 72. 3ab

92. Cf. Yajñam Vimāya kavayo manīṣām ṛksāmābhyam pra ratham Vartayanti at X. 114. 6cd.

93. Cf. Sato bandhumasati niravindan hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā at X. 129. 4cd.

94. Cf. III. 33. 5; VI. 49. 4; VII. 99. 6.

95. Cf. Śucayaḥ manīṣāḥ at VI. 66. 11c.

96. Cf. Śukrā manīṣā at VII. 34. 1; Ghṛtapratīkām manīṣām at VII. 85. 1; dyotamānām...manīṣām at X. 177. 2

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purification; it is purified by offering it to the deity[97]. Being pure it also purifies the yūpa[98]. It is devī[99] as it is associated with the gods. To emphasise this trait, a poet of the Vasiṣṭha family declares that his Manīṣā is not associated with a demon[100]. It is 'new'[101] and 'young'[102] for it contains new thoughts and is composed by the poet only recently. It is 'well trimmed'[103] because its thought-contents are discriminately and aptly arranged. It is 'powerful'[104] and 'thundering'[105] as its expression of thought is emphatic and forceful. The poet composes Manīṣā with all his best and hence he desires that his Manīṣā should be unequalled[106] (both in its form and efficacy).

Though Manīṣā is a reflective hymn, it is not completely devoid of feelings. Like an eager wife, it embraces [spṛś] the deity[107]. Like rushing streams of water[108], it eagerly (and with single devotion) approaches the deity. It longs for and unites with the deity who too longs for it[109]. They (Manīṣās) love the deity and hence they vie mutually in order to reach the first[110]. It is also described as 'singing to Indra'[111], 'praising the deity'[112], or 'greeting the Pavamāna Soma'[113].

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97. Cf. Punīṣe vāmarakṣasam manīṣām somam indrāya varuṇāya juhvat at VII. 85. 1 ab.
98. Cf. III, 8. 5.
99. Cf. Devī manīṣā at VII. 34. 1.
100. Cf. VII. 85. 1ab.
101. Cf. navyasī manīṣā at X. 4. 6c.
102. Cf. Yuvatir manīṣā at V. 47. 1c.
103. Cf. Suvṛkti manīṣā at VII. 24. 2cd.
104. Cf. Vibhvaḥ manīṣāḥ at VI. 31. 1be.
105. Cf. Svaryam (fr. svari) manīṣām at X. 177. 2.
106. Cf. Asamā manīṣā santu at I. 54. 8,
107. Cf. Patim na patniruśatīruśantam spṛśanti tvā śavasāvan manīṣāḥ at I. 62. 11 cd.
108. Cf. VI. 66. 11; IX. 95. 3.
109. Cf. ā viśanti uśatīruśantam at IX. 95. 3.
110. Cf. Divaḥ śardhāya śucayo manīṣā girayo nāpa ugrā aspṛdhran at VI. 66. 11cd.
111. Cf. I. 110·7.
112. Cf. VII. 90. 6; also V. 124. 9.
113. Cf. IX. 68. 8; IX. 86. 17.

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Just as a chariot, if it is to be unfailing in its mission, is skilfully fashioned by an expert carpenter, so also Manīṣā is composed with the apt poetic skill by a prudent poet[114]. It is to be carefully sent to the god like the offering of the ghee with a ladle by an ever watchful priest[115].

No wonder, that such a well composed and duly delivered Manīṣā appeals to the god[116] who also appreciates it[117]. The poet is eager to know what kind of Manīṣā will be most agreeable to the deity[118], and he also requests the deity to appreciate his Manīṣā[119]. The poet is well aware of the love of the deity for Manīṣa, hence he requests Soma to disclose himself on account of his Manīṣā[120], or he desires to conquer his enemies with (i.e. by means of) his Manīṣā[121]. Also he informs the deity that he has approached it with a Manīṣā[122] or that he is speaking with a Manīṣā[123]. The deity also responds to the poet's Manīṣā[124]. Pūṣan and Maruts protect Manīṣā[125]. Agni also promotes a Manīṣā[126] (by making it successful). Maniṣā also loves the deity and hence it is described as 'singing to Indra[127], 'embracing Indra'[128] loving the gods[129] etc. Manīṣā being dear to the gods

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114. Cf. III. 38. 1; Sutaṣṭaḥ rathah na at VII. 34. 1.
115. Cf. Ā manīṣām...sruceva ghṛtam juhavāma at I. 110. 6ab.
116. Cf. Tubhyam manīṣā...astu śam hṛde at V. 11. 5b.
117. Cf. III. 57. 1.
118. Cf. Bhuvat agne śamtamā kā manīṣā at I. 76. 1b.
119. Cf. VII. 22. 4.
120. Cf. Tvam Soma pra cikito manīṣā at I. 91. 1a.
121. Cf. Vanema pūrvīraryo manīṣā at I. 70. 1a.
122. Cf. III. 33. 5.
123. Cf. Vivakmi...manīṣā at III. 57. 4ab.
124. Cf. X. 29. 4; also the comparison of Manīṣā with a chariot, boat etc.
125. Cf. X. 26. 1; X. 77. 8; also Cf. X. 177. 2.
126. Cf. Pra tirasi manīṣām at IV. 6. 1d.
127. Cf. Indram manīṣā abhyarcati at I. 101. 7c; also IX. 6. 8; IX. 86. 17.
128. Cf. Manīṣāh spṛśanti at I. 62. 11.
129. Cf. āvivāsantī manīṣā at V. 47. 1c.

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is always successful. It helps the poet to win the enemies[130] or to acquire protection[131], and prosperity[132] or to win the favour of a patron[133]. Hence like fleet-footed mares[134] or like persons eager to obtain wealth[135], Manīṣā approaches Indra and Varuṇa in order to receive Wealth. Having received the liberal gifts Manīṣā is composed in order to express the gratefulness[136].

Like a chariot[137] or a boat[138], Manīṣā is a vehicle for the deity. It quickly and safely brings the deity to the required place and hence the poet requests Agni to yoke Manīṣā like a chariot, with his brilliant limbs[139]. The poet inquires of Indra as to which Manīṣā-Vehicle-will bring him in his company[140]. Sometimes it is also conceived as a 'seat (of Barhis) for the deity[141].

Though Manīṣā is usually composed by a poet, in a few passages of the Ṛgveda, its origin is attributed to the gods. Agni is manīṣāṇām prārpaṇah i. e. 'The inspirer of Manīṣā[142]'. Agni declares Manīṣā to the poet[143] or releases it for the poet[144].

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130. Cf. I. 70. 1, Cf. also Ṛcā vanemāṇṛcaḥ at X. 105. 8.
131. Cf. VII. 85. 1.
132. Cf. I. 112. 24; food at II. 57. 1; IV. 41. 9; VI. 34. 1; X. 20. 10.
133. Cf. II. 20. 1.
134. Cf. IV. 41. 9.
135. Cf. IV. 41. 9.
136. Cf. V 83. 10.
137. Cf. III. 38. 1; VII. 34. 1.
138. Cf. VIII. 96. 11ab.
139. Cf. iyam te agne navyasī manīṣā yukṣvā ratham na śucayadbhiraṅgaiḥ at X. 4. 6cd.
140. Cf. X. 29. 3c.
141. Cf. Pra stṛṇīte manīṣā at VI. 67. 2.
142. Cf. X. 45. 5.
143. Cf. Agnir mahyam predu vocan manīṣām at IV. 5. 3d.
144. Cf. Vi sāhyagne gṛṇate manīṣām at IV. 11. 2a.

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Hence Manīṣā is described as being born from Agni[145]. Soma inspires[146]-awakens[147]-Manīṣā in a poet like a river, the waves. Indra and Varuṇa are described as having given a Manīṣā to the sages in the beginning (of the world).[148] The deity is conceived as the 'Lord' or 'master' of Manīṣā. Like a freely moving and unguarded cow Manīṣā approaches Indra (as if to its Lord).[149]

Manīṣā must have been connected with sacrifice for it is associated with the soma-juice[150], offerings[151] and evening time[152]. No doubt, such references are few and hence one is not able to determine the details or the nature of the relation between Manīṣā and sacrifice.

Though Manīṣā is generally addressed to a deity, at I. 126. 1, it is addressed to a patron[153]. The reference to Manīṣā and Anuṣṭubh metre at X. 124. 9[154] may indicate that possibly Manīṣās were, sometimes, composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre also.

To conclude, Manīṣā is a skilful composition, pure and thoughtful in contents and unfailing in its appeal.

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145. Cf. Tvadagne kavyā tvanmanīṣā...jāyante at IV. II. 3ab.

146. Cf. Prāvīvipadvāca ūrmim na sindhu...somaḥ...manīṣāḥ at IX. 96. 7. ab; also cf. IX. 95. 5 (Punāna indo vi ṣyā manīṣām).

147. Cf. manīṣām ajīgaḥ at VI. 47. 3b.

148. Cf. Indrā varuṇā yad Ṛṣibhyah manīṣām vāco matim śṛutamadattam agre at VIII. 59. 6ab.

149. Cf. pra me vivikvān avidanmanīṣām dhenum carantīm prayutām agopām at III. 57. 1.

150 Cf. III. 57. 4; VII. 24. 2; VII. 85. 1; X. 94. 14.

151. Cf. X. 29. 4.

152. Cf. Abhipitve manīṣā at I. 186. 1d; also X. 177. 2.

153. Patron called Bhāvya.

154. Cf. Anuṣṭubhamanu carcūryamāṇamindram ni cikyuḥ kavayo manīṣā at X. 124. 9cd.

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DANTYOSṬHAVIDHI

A LAKṢAṆAGRANTHA OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

Dr. B. R. Modak, Dharwar

The Lakṣaṇagranthas of a Veda are those ancillary texts which throw light on the Veda from different angles of view-point. They are written from a practical point of view and have a linguistic, grammatical, text-critical or historical bearing.

It is well-known that special efforts were made to preserve the Vedic texts against being in any way corrupted. A verse by Patanjali states: "A word which is deficient in accent or syllable, or which is employed wrongly, does not give the correct meaning. It becomes a word-missile and kills the sacrificer as in the case of (the word) *indraśatru* which was uttered with wrong accent". This shows the great importance attached to every syllable and accent.

In the case of the *AV*, which was less current among the people than any of the other Vedas, there was a greater possibility of variations and corruptions. In fact we do find that there is a great number of variant readings in the text of the Śaunakīya and Paippalāda recensions. Hence, it was with a view to standardising the text that these Lakṣaṇagranthas were composed.

There are five Lakṣaṇagranthas relating to the Atharvaveda (*AV*). They are 1) *Caturādhyāyikā* 2) *Prātiśākhya* 3) *Pañcapaṭalikā* 4) *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* and 5) *Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī*. The first two are linguistic-grammatical by nature and the last three may be characterised as text-historical.

Here we are going to take into consideration only the Dantyoṣṭhavidhi[1]. It is a remarkable representative of the tremendous efforts made by the Indians for scrupulously guarding the Vedic texts against any sort of corruption. It is a very short metrical manual on *AV*-phonetics and is divided into two *adhyāyas* containing twelve and eleven verses respectively. It decides as the title suggests the dental or the labial pronounciation of the words in the *AV-saṁhitā* which contain *b* in them.

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1. Edited by Rama Gopal Sastri at Lahore in 1921.

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The author, who is unknown, says at the outset (1–2–3): "There has long been among scholars studying scriptures, a doubt regarding the pronounciation of *b*-a doubt as to whether it should be pronounced as a labial or whether it should be pronounced as a dental. Hence with a view to settling the matter and to removing the doubt, I shall here set forth the usage of labial *b* excluding [2] those of dental *b*". The author further suggests that, in such cases as are not specially mentioned in the work, *b* is to be pronounced as a dental[3]. It may, however be pointed out that he has actually mentioned a few words containing *V* in them [4].

The Dantyoṣṭhavidhi states that when *b* is followed by *bh* and is not separated by an *avagraha* (*aniṅgya*), it is to be pronounced by bringing together the lips slightly. The examples given are *bibhītaḥ* (11.15.1) [5] and *bibhratīh* (III.14.3). Similar is the case with words having initial accent; *bala* (I.35.3), *bāna* (VI.105.2), *bila* (XII.3.13); and with those having final aecent: *baladā* (IV,2.1.), *abalān*(*urga*) (III.19.7), *abaladhanvā* (III.19.7), *balāsa* (V.22.11) and *bāhū* (IV,2.5). These words may occur with any case terminations.

The work then proceeds to give a long list of words containing *b* in them. The words are: *balī* (III.5.1) *balena* (III.5.1), *barhiḥ* (V.12.4), *abalena* (III.29.3), *balīyase* (III.29.3), *bradhnaḥ* (VII.23.2), *Kilbisam* (V. 19.5), *vaḥketuḥ*[6], *kumbam* (VI. 138.3), *bādhiṣṭa* (XVIII.2.25), *bāliti* (I.3.1), *bāhum* (XVIII.1.11), *bodhi* (IV. 32.6), *bandhuḥ* (II.1.3), *bahu* (I.10.3), *bādhe* (IV.35.7), *bṛhat* (III.8.1), *pibati* (V.5.2), *bruvate* (XX.138.3).

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2. The word *muktvā* in the text is wrongly rendered in the Hindi translation by the editor as 'having opened wide the mouth'.
3. 1.12: *ye noktās te tu dantajāḥ*.
4. 1.7, 10; 2.3, 9 The *Māṇḍavya Śikṣā* of the *YV* also deals in the labial section with the words *dhruva*, *dvaya*, *Vāja*, *paḍvīśa* etc., which contain *V* in them.
5. The references are to the *AV*. When a word occurs at more than one place, only the first occurrence is mentioned.
6. This is not found as a single word. AV vii.11.1. reads: *daivaḥ ketuḥ*. It appears that the author intends that the *V* here should be pronounced as labial.

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bastavāsinaḥ (VIII.6.12), *bāhvarikaiḥ* (XI.9.12), *bahuvīrye* (V.21.10), *bahavaḥ* (I.27.3), *kābavam* (III.9.3), *bāhvoḥ* (VII.58.6), *bodha* (XIX. 49,5), *bahve*, *badhnya*[7], *tābuva* (V. 13.10), *bahvīḥ* (VI.96.1), *navamaḥ*[8].

vaibādha (III.6.2), *devabandhum* (IV.1.7), *vibaddhaḥ* (V.20.2), *vibandhuṣu* (XVIII.2.67), *vibabādhe* (VIII.9.6) [9].

bāhau (II.27.3), *bāhavaḥ* (III.19.7), *bahula* (IV.15.6), *budhnya* (IV. 1. 1), *baddhakam* (VI. 121. 4).

The second *adhyāya* continues the list. The words therein are: *kambalam* (XIV. 2. 66), *balbajam* (X. 2. 22), *bījam* (III. 17. 2), *libujā* (VI. 8. 1), *Banmahā asi* (XIII. 2. 19), *biṣkale* (I. 11. 3), *brahma* (I 10. 4), *barjarhye* (XI. 8. 14), *śabale* (V. 29. 6), *bedhiṣe* (VI. 63. 3), *bayaḥ*[10], *bahiṣṭhaḥ* [11] (IV. 35. 5), *budhnyaḥ* (XIX. 11. 3), *padvīśa* [12] (VIII. 1. 4), *arbudam* (XI. 10. 5), *badhiraḥ* (XI. 3. 2. 2), *ābayo* (VI. 16. 1.), *binduḥ* (IX. 1. 21), *sambimbam* [13],

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7. These two words *bahve* and *budhnya* are not found in the *AV*.

8. The pronunciation of *v* in this word appears to be intended as labial by the author. The words in this paragraph beginning with *bastavāsinaḥ* are called *prathamasparśāḥ* as *b* occurs before *v* in them.

9. The words in this paragraph beginning with *vaibādha* are called *dvitīyasparśāḥ* as *b* occurs after *v* in them. Thus the author has taken sufficient care to state clearly which letter exactly is labial.

10. This word is not found in the *AV*.

11. Sāyaṇa reads the word as *vahiṣṭhaḥ*. So does the ed. of *Roth* and *Whitney*. Their note on *AV*. IV. 35. 5 reads: "The MSS. (with the exception, doubtless accidental, of our P. K.) all read *bahiṣṭhaḥ* at the end of *a*, and this S. P. P. retains, while our text makes the obviously called for emendation to *vaḥ*".

12. This is one of the words containing *v* which the *Dāntyoṣṭhavidhi* has mentioned. See fn. 5 above.

13. This word is not seen in the *AV*.

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kāhābāham (IX. 8. 11), *udumbalam* (VIII. 6 17), *kabru* (XI. 3. 6), *pībasi* (I. 11. 4), *bandhuram* (X. 4. 2), *kambūka* (XI. 1. 29), *balinaḥ* (XIV. 1. 2), *kuberaḥ* (VIII. 10. 5. 10), *stambajaḥ* (VIII. 6. 5), *babhroḥ* (II. 8. 3), *Upabdaiḥ* (VIII. 4. 17), *paribedhire* (VI. 135. 5), *asambādhe* (XVIII. 2.20), *nairbadhyena* (VI. 75.1), *baddhe baddhāni*[14] (CXIII. 4. 45), *kūlbajam* (XII. 5. 3. 12), *bato batāsi* (XVIII. 1. 15), *bandhu* (V.13. 7), *bisam* (V.17. 16), *klībam* (VI. 138. 1), *buje bujaḥ*[15] *badhāna* (X. 5. 44), *prābandhāyāḥ*[16] *ulbaḥ* (IV. 2. 8), *kāberakaḥ* (VIII. 10. 5. 11), *ābedhuḥ* (IX. 3. 6), *ailabaḥ* (VI. 16. 3), *ābedhe* (V. 28. 11), *bālhikān* (V. 22. 7), *abodhi* (XIII. 2. 46), *bārhatsāme* (V. 29. 9), *ghoṣabuddhā* (V. 20. 5), *bandhanam*[17] (VI. 14. 2), *ābadhe* (V. 28. 11), *alābu* (VIII, 10. 5. 14), *bajam* (VIII. 6, 3), *bāṇam* (X. 2. 17)—these words and the word *brahmā* (I. 10. 4) with initial accent and in all senses are labial.

The remaining labial words are: *chubukat* (II. 33. 1), *baṣkaye* (IX. 9. 6), *bāle*, *kenabāle*, *adhibāle*[18] *vayaḥ* (XX. 129. 5), *bibheda* (II. 5. 3), and similar words like *bibhiduḥ* (XX. 77. 6), *bala* preceded by *pari* and *bandhu* followed by *sindhu*[19], *tuchubdaḥ*, *cubukaḥ*[20], *babhūvuḥ* (IX. 2. 22) and *babhūvuṣī* (IX. 10. 21).

It will thus be seen that the importance of the *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* consists in the exhaustive list given by it of the words from the *AV-saṁhitā* the *b* in which is to be pronounced as labial. However a number of words in the list are not to be traced to any existing

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14. The MSS. show various readings as noted by S. P. Pandit (Vol. III, p. 288, fn. 2).
15. These words are not found in the *AV*. *Bajam* occurs at VIII. 6. 3.
16. This word does not occur in the *AV*.
17. The text reads: *bandhanam yatra śeṣam syāt* and possibly means 'compound words having *bandhanam* as the second member.
18. These three words are not found in the *AV*.
19. These words *paribala* and *bindhu sindhu* are not seen in the *AV*.
20. These two words are not found in the *AV*. The editor states that the reading of the MSS. is very corrupt.

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saṁhitās of the *AV.*[21]. Incidentally, the *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* also helps, in a way, to fix up the readings in a number of dubious passages in the *AV-saṁhitā.*

The author of the *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* has also given a few hints as regards the manner of pronouncing a labial. For instance, at the beginning of the second *adhyāya* he says that one should lightly touch the upper part of the lower lip with the end of the (upper) teeth to produce the (*dantyoṣṭhya*) sound. One should not press the teeth on the lip harshly. The *Atharvavedīya Māṇḍūki Śikṣā* [22] gives in this case the interesting example of a tigress that carries her cubs holding them with her teeth, but without harming them.

The *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi*, which obviously belongs to the *AV*, starts by paying an obeisence to the sage Atharvan. It further makes a homage to god Hayagrīva. This deity is very late [23] and has nothing to do with the *AV*-ideology as such. It is specially to be noted that the *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* mentions words from all the 20 *kāṇḍas* of the *AV*. The words *bruvate* for instance, is found only at XIX. 49. 5, XX. 117. 3. Most of the other ancillary works usually refer only to the 18 *kāṇḍas* of the *AV-saṁhitā.*

The *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi* is written in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas but the metre is often loose [24]. This metrical looseness seems to have been, in most cases, due to the necessity of including particular words in a stanza.

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21. e. g. *bahve* (I. 9), *badhnya* (I. 10), *bayaḥ* (II. 2), *Sambimbam* (II. 3), *prābandhāyāḥ* (II. 6) etc.

22. यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत् ।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 4.7.

Cf. *Ṛkprātiśākhya* 14. 5: *leśena vā vacanam pīḍanam vā* which Regneir translates: "a pronunciation attenuated or pressed (i. e. too forcible)". Pāṇini (V. 3. 18) states that the utterence of *y* and *v* acc. to Śākaṭāyana is to be made with slighter effort.

23. Rama Gopal (text, p. 1) thinks that the first verse, which mentions Hayagrīva, may be an interpolation.

24. See I. 3-7, 9-11, II. 3-8.

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VIṢṆUDAIVATYAM OF VAIKHĀNASA KALPA SŪTRA

Pt. P. Gopalakrishnamurty, Siddipet, A. P.

The *Vaikhānasakalpasūtra* belongs to the group of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Kalpa sūtras. The Mantras of *Vaikhānasakalpasūtra* are not only 'Śārīra' but also 'Daivika' which are referred to in Vaikhānasa 'Āgama Granthas'. The followers of *Vaikhānasakalpasūtra* are found mostly in South India (i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala and Madras States). They are known as Vaikhānasas or as Vaikhānasa Vaiṣṇavas. The rituals, for example, at the famous temple of lord Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirupati, are in accordance with the Vaikhānasa Āgama.

The Mantras which are used by the Vaikhānasas, either as 'Śārīra' or as 'Daivika' are composed into eleven *praśnas*. Among the eleven *praśnas* the first eight are widely in use. The seventh *praśna* is named as 'pāramātmikam' and the ninth is known as 'Viṣṇudaivatyam'. The Mantras of 'Viṣṇudaivatyam' are valuable for the students of Vedic literature because they are not found in any other Kalpa sūtra or Vedic text. Vedānta Deśika, a famous Ācārya of vaiṣṇavism, refers to some Mantras of 'Viṣṇudaivatyam' in his '*Sajjanasambhavam*'.

'*Viṣṇudaivatyam*' contains eleven 'Anuvākas'. Each Anuvāka comprises ten Mantras except the last one which has only six Mantras.

Each Mantra ends with 'svāhā!' [1] Most of the Mantras are in praise of god Viṣṇu. They describe the following *mūrtis* of Lord Viṣṇu : The *pañca vyūhās*, the twenty four *mūrtis* beginning with Keśava, the Daśāvatāras, and the *pīṭhārcana* Devatās. Every Mantra praises a particular '*mūrti*' mentioning it in the manner in which the '*mūrti*' is described in the Purāṇas or the Tantras or the Vaikhānasa Āgama.

The style of the Mantras is simple and lucid. The language, used in *Viṣṇudaivatyam* resembles the language

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1. विष्णुर्विश्वेषामधिगतः पुरुषः परेण सदा विश्वेषामभवं ध्रुवात्मा निखिलावनाय स्वाहा। (अनु. 1; मन्त्र. 1).

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used in Puruṣasūkta and Śrīsūkta. The seventh Mantra praśna, 'Pāramātmikam' and the ninth Mantra praśna, 'Viṣṇudaivatyam' are like twins in every respect i. e. style, language, and the division into eleven Anuvākas.

I. *Anuvāka* :- The ten Mantras of the first 'Anuvāka' praise the following ten *mūrtis* respectively: Viṣṇu, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Aniruddha, Śeṣaśayana, Cetana Prajāga rūpa, Bhaktavarada, Vaṭapatraśāyi, and Govinda Rāja. The first five *mūrtis* are well known as Pañca vyūhas of lord Viṣṇu which are familiar in Vaikhānasa Āgama.

II. *Anuvāka* :-The ten Mantras of this 'Anuvāka' praise the following ten *mūrtis* respectively: Matsya, Vedāhartṛ, Mahāmīna, Vaikuṇṭhapati, Viśvambhara, Cakradhara, Lakṣmīkānta, Gadādhara, Satyarūpa and Devottamavarada. The first Mantra refers to the story of king 'Satyavrata' who was saved by Matsyāvatāra. The second one refers to the story of the destruction of 'Somakāsura' and the bringing of the Vedas. The third one praises the giant fish which plays in the ocean of world at the time of 'Kalpānta'.

III. *Anuvāka*:- The ten Mantras praise the following ten *mūrtis* respectively : Pañcarūpa, Paramapuruṣa, Hayagrīva, Lakṣmīvallabha, Acyuta, Keśava, Sukeśava, Jagatīvallabha, Nirupamapratāpa, and Rakṣaka. The sixth and seventh describe 'Keśava'. In the seventh Mantra mention is made of 'Sukeśava' which means Sundara Keśava or 'Cenna Keśava' a term which is popular in South India (*Cenna* means beauty). In some temples Cennakeśava is known as 'Jaganmohinī Keśava svāmi' also. In East Godavari destrict at a village known as 'Ryāli', Lord Keśava is known as 'Jaganmohinī Keśava Svāmi'. The sculpture of the image of 'Keśava' at 'Ryāli is worth seeing and superb.

IV. *Anuvāka* :- The ten Mantras praise the following ten *mūrtis* respectively: Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, Bhāvaja Viṣṇu, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana and Śrīdhara. The third Mantra praises Bhāvaja Viṣṇu who is otherwise well known as 'Bhāva Nārāyaṇa. There are many temples for 'Bhāva Nārāyaṇa' in South India.

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V. *Anuvāka* :–The ten Mantras praise the following *mūrtis* respectively: Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Samkarṣaṇa Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Puruṣottama, Adhokṣaja, and Nārasiṁha.

VI. *Anuvāka* :–The ten Mantras of this 'Anuvāka' praise the following *mūrtis* respectively: Acyuta, Janārdana, Upendra, Hari, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Arcanotsukavigraha, Cidrūpa Viṣṇu, Garuḍadhvaja, Jaladhiśayana, and Brahmaṇya Deva.

The sixth one praises Viṣṇu as 'Arcanotsukavigraha[2]. It is clearly in support of 'Vigrahārādhanā'.

VII. *Anuvāka* :–The ten Mantras praise the following respectively: Kapila, Yajña, Nārāyaṇa, Puṇya, Subhadra, Sarva, Hayātmaka, Suvana, Kāmadeva, and Sukhāvana. All of them are *pīṭhārcana* Devatās. The first Mantra refers to the great Sāmkhya philosopher 'Kapila'.

VIII. *Anuvāka*:–The ten Mantras of this 'Anuvāka' praise the following *mūrtis* respectively: Sarvavidyeśvara, Sarvodvaha, Sarveśvara, Samjīvana, Mahābala Viṣṇu, Śrīvarāha, Kūrmarūpa, Kravyāda, Viśara, Bhūmyuddhāraka Varāha, and Pralaya Varāha.

IX. *Anuvāka*:–The ten Mantras praise the following *mūrtis* respectively: Narasiṁha, Stambhodbhava-Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Bhārgava, Dāśarathi, Kausaleya, Sītā, Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa.

X. *Anuvāka* :–The first one praises Śatrughna. The second third, fourth and fifth Mantras are dedicated to lord 'Hanumān'. The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth Mantras, praise the following respectively: Saṁkarṣaṇa Vāsudeva, Vallavīramaṇa, Buddha and Kalki.

The mention of 'Rukmiṇī' and 'Satyā' is made in seventh and eighth respectively.

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2. स वा एष पुरुषः पञ्चधा पञ्चात्मा येन सर्वमिदं प्रतिष्ठितं तस्मै विष्णवेऽर्चनोत्सुकविग्रहाय स्वाहा। (अनु. 6 ; मन्त्र. 6)

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XI. *Anuvāka*:-There are only six Mantras in this 'Anuvāka'. These six Mantras praise Viṣṇu as Śubha Sambarhaṇa, Hari, Nyūnātirikta Saṁrakṣaka, Vikhanasārcanotsukānandaprasāraka, Jagadrakṣākara, and Yajamānaphalapradāyaka.

We can infer from the fourth Mantra that sage 'Vikhanasa, was a beloved worshipper of lord Viṣṇu and a promoter of 'Vigrah-ārādhana' school in Vedic age. He was most probably the author of the 'Viṣṇudaivatyam' Mantras.

In view of the importance of the Mantras, a critical study of 'Viṣṇudaivatyam' and its correct publication along with marking of 'Svaras' will be of immense value to all lovers of Vedic literature.

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3. विष्णो भगवन् यस्त्वं कर्ता त्वं कारयिता तन्मन्त्रस्वरादिहीनं क्षमस्व विखनसार्चनोत्सुकानन्दप्रसारकाय स्वाहा। (अनु. 11 ; मन्त्र. 4)

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ELEMENTS OF ORAL POETRY IN THE *MAHABHĀRATA*

Dr. R. K. Sharma, New Delhi, 2.

C. M. Bowra[1], in his *Heroic Poetry*, has discussed at length the distinctive features of heroic poetry. As his analytical study of such poetry in Homeric Greek, Mesopotamian and Hittite, Old Germanic and Old Romance, South Slav, East European, Uzbek, Yakut, Ainu, etc. shows, heroic poetry is primarily oral; it is basically recited for the audience rather than written for general readers until it 'reaches a kind of finality', 'its texts are fixed', and 'it passes into a national heritage' when it may be 'written down and circulated and become widely known'. For this, the poet or rhapsodist, first of all, has to acquaint himself with the main outlines of the story or stories concerned and then 'learn a large number of formulae, both short and long, suited to the metre in which he composes'. The larger the number of formulae he has mastered, the quicker the successive flow of recitation. The formulae are in the main traditional and are of two kinds, viz. (a) the Noun-adjective combinations, e.g. 'blue sea', 'dark death', 'stone built Moscow', 'broad highway', 'silver breasted lark', 'black mother night', etc. and (b) 'Repeated phrases which may be parts of lines, or single whole lines or sets of whole lines; e.g. in Homer, when dawn comes it is mostly :

Now when the early born rose-fingered Dawn had arisen.

He has further observed that when a poet recites the same lay on several different occasions, his versions are not always the same. The poet, in fact, each time composes his poem (i.e. improvises) he recites, afresh. But thanks to the traditional poetic formulae he has already mastered, 'it is not a wild flood of words which flows from his lips but an orderly stream which his hearers find familiar in vocabulary and in metre'. The formulaic nature of poetry not only helps the poet in his oral composition but does

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1. C. M. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, London, 1952, Ch. 6, pp. 215-53.

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also help the hearing patience of the audience who feel more or less relaxed on account of their familiarity with such expressions-old friends as it were.

Coming to early Indian literature in general, we find that the transmission of the Vedas and the epics needed just the machinery of hearing (śruti) and memory (smṛti) respectively. In the former, the poet was perhaps required to restrict himself to the actual sequence of words heard from his predecessor, so far as possible. In the latter he was free to avail of his memory and imagination to a great extent. But even if writing of texts had already begun, recitation from written texts (likhitapāṭhakaḥ) was not permissible (cf. Pāṇinīyaśikṣā 32) by convention. Thus [2]Emeneau rightly remarks :

"Old as is the writing in the history of the Culture of India in its classical form, there is literature there that is even older than writing. The Vedas, the oldest religious texts of Hinduism, contain in their earliest layers hymns and other ritual utterances the beginnings of which can be conservatively placed in the second millennium B. C. These texts present clear evidence that they are oral compositions. Perhaps the most striking kind of evidence is the extensive repeated use in the verses of traditional poetic units. Maurice Bloomfield in his intensive study of the phenomenon in the two volumes called *Ṛgveda Repetitions*, found that in the Ṛgvedic collection of over 1000 hymns, approximately one-fifth of the lines are involved in this repetitive use...The marks of oral composition and of a very early synthesis of numerous oral recitations into one unified text are clearly evident in both (viz. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*) these epics (as they are in Homer). The tradition of the transmittal of the *Mahābhārata* (and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* too) even illustrates the postulates that in a living oral tradition and barring special conditions, no two oral recitations of what purports to be the same work are identical but each recitation is a fresh composition. For we are told in the *Mahābhārata* itself that its length is not always the same (Book 1, adhyāya 1)

2. M. B. Emeneau, Oral Poets of South India—The Todas, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 71, No. 281, 1958, pp. 313-14.

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and that the text as we have it is the third recitation in a succession of famous recitations of different lengths. This oral characteristic...did not come to an end even after the *Mahābhārata* was written down, perhaps in the fourth century A. D., perhaps somewhat earlier. The copyists have never ceased to add more good, bad, or indifferent passages of stories in their versions when they could do so. It is only recognition of the oral technique of compositions and its implications that makes it possible to deal with the Sanskrit epic in any but the most fumbling way."

Traditionally speaking, the whole *Mahābhārata* was written down by Gaṇeśa on the dictation of Vyāsa (Vide Appendix 1 to Ādi, pp. 884-5 foot note). Whatever the truth of the story, the composer did not himself write out his composition; he just recited it. So, we are told, his five disciples, viz. Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Śuka and Vaiśampāyana, in turn recited five separate versions of the epic to their respective audience (संहितास्तै: पृथक्त्वेन भारतस्य प्रकाशिता: 1. 57. 75). Sūta again committed the whole *Bhārata* to memory at the very first recitation by Vaiśampāyana on the occasion of Janamejaya's sacrificial session and recited it in turn at another sacrificial session held in Naimiṣāraṇya (Vide 1. 1. 1 ff.).

This clearly proves that the *Mahābhārata* was transmitted orally and that the successive recitations were not wholly identical.

As [3]Hopkins, [4]Sukthankar, [5]Kane, [6]Belvalkar and [7]Renou have shown, many of the *Mahābhārata* verses are constituents of

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3. E. W. Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, New York, 1918, pp. 403-44.
4. V. S. Sukthankar, The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa, Critical studies in Mahābhārata, Sukthankar Memorial Edition, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 406 ff.
5. P. V. Kane, Mahābhārata verses and Ancient Dharmaśāstras, A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F. W. Thomas, 1939, pp. 128-33.
6. S. K. Belvalkar, The Cosmographical Episode in the Mahābhārata and Padmapurāṇa, ibid, pp. 19 ff.
7. Louis Renou, 'L' hymne aux Aśvin de l'Ādiparvan', ibid, pp. 177 ff.

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the traditional stock. Cf. Aṣṭāvakra's remarks in the following verses:

न तेन स्थविरो भवति येनास्य पलितं शिरः ।
बालोऽपि यः प्रजानीतें तं देवाः स्थविरं विदुः ॥
3. 133. 11 and Manu 2. 156.

न हायनैर्न पलितैर्न वित्तेन न बन्धुभिः ।
ऋषयश्चक्रिरे धर्मं योऽनूचानः स नो महान् ॥
3. 133. 12 and Manu 2. 154.

Likewise, the expression of insult तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वा placing a straw in between occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 21. 3, and the *Mahābhārata* 3. 265. 17 continues down to the 16th century (Tulasī, *Rāmacarita-mānasa* V. 9. 3).

The *Mahābhārata* abounds in Bowra's Noun-adjective poetic formulae. Thus a warrior is 'bull among men' (पुरुषर्षभ); he is brilliant like the gods, Indra, the Sun, or the Fire (अमरप्रतिम—, देवराजसमद्युति–, तेजसा भास्करोपम–, विभावसुसमद्युति–etc.); he is terrific like Rudra at the time of the destruction of the age (युगान्तकाले संक्रुद्धः पिनाकीव महाबलः) or Yama (कालान्तकयमोपम—). A beautiful woman is described as of charming complexion (वरवर्णिनी) or of a complexion like that of the gods (अमरवर्णिनी) or charming like Lakṣmī or Rati or Kinnarī or Apsaras (श्रीरिव रूपिणी; ···रतीमिव; किन्नरीमिव, स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः, etc.). Fast moving chariots, etc. are likened to wind or mind or both (वातरंहसः, मनोजव—, मनोमारुतरंहसः etc.). The clouds are massive like the herd of elephants (गजकुल-प्रख्याः) and vice versa (गजानीकं···मेघवृन्दमिवोद्यतम्). A huge army is ocean-like (सागरप्रतिम—). Weapons are terrific like thunder-bolt, or snakes (वज्राशनिसमस्पर्श—, आशीविषोपम—). A king is of delightful appearance like the moon (सोमवत् प्रियदर्शनः). A huge body is described as like a mountain (महीधरप्रतिम). A white complexioned individual is compared to cow's milk, the jasmine flower, the moon, the fibres of the lotus-stalk, and silver (गोक्षीर-कुन्देन्दुमृणालरजतप्रतिम—).

Very often, the epithets take the place of independent nouns, especially in vocatives (e. g. ततस्ते पुरुषव्याघ्राः···, असंशयं महाबाहो···, पुण्डरीकाक्ष—, ··· कमलपत्राक्ष—, मुनिपुंगव, वरारोहा, etc.).

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The following two examples will show how one full pāda consisting of such noun-adjective combinations has been repeated quite a number of times:

(*a*) शरैः सन्नतपर्वभिः 6.75.24, 78.44, 79.13, 48, 97.25, 98.8, 99.18, 100.14, 23, 101.18, 20, 105.5, 106.32, 107.8, 18, 108.26, 109.39, 110.1, 25, 112.30, 43, 67, 116.42 (at least 23 times in one Parvan).

(*b*) भीष्मो भीमपराक्रमः 1.2.184, 114.9, 141.18, 142.32, 150.3; 3.50.5, 9, 66.1, 78.2, 146.13. 72, 276.6 and the improvised भीमं भीमपराक्रमम् 3.71.19, 151.11, भीमान् भीमपराक्रमान् 3.50.9, जग्भुर्भीमपराक्रमाः 3.145.9, अतिभीमपराक्रमः 3.145.2, महात्मा भीमविक्रमः; भीष्मो भीमपराक्रमः 6.48.7, भीष्मं भीमपराक्रमम् 6.15.16, 46.4, 93-41, 104.50 (at least 23 times).

It may be noted in this connection that in the third Parvan, this clause appears mostly with the word भीम while in the sixth, perhaps always with भीष्म.

As a study through the internal concordance shows, sometimes one complete verse forms a poetic unit which is repeated with or without improvisation. e. g.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति सत्तम ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ 3.187.26

Cf. 6.26.7 भारत for सत्तम in b.

अनन्तविजयं राजा कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।
नकुलः सहदेवश्च सुघोषमणिपुष्पकौ ॥
काशिराजश्च शैब्यश्च शिखण्डी च महारथः ।
धृष्टद्युम्नो विराटश्च सात्यकिश्च महायशाः ॥ 6.47.26-7

Cf. 6.23.12-19, 6.47.22-25, 29.

A few examples are cited below to show how poetic unit consisting of an independent line appears in repeated use, with improvisation here and there :—

(*a*) i. एष धर्मः सनातनः 1.113.13; 3.13.6, 30.50, 152.9 281.20.

ii. धर्म एष सनातनः 1.195.2, 3.204.27.

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iii. नैष धर्मः सनातनः 1.158.20.
iv. स हि धर्मः सनातनः 1.113.7, 3.87.21.
v. तद्धि धर्मं सनातनम् 3.32.28.
vi. सोऽस्य धर्मः सनातनः 6.17.11.
vii. धर्मो राजन् सनातनः 3.93.11.
viii. सतां धर्मः सनातनः 3.281.34.
ix. यत्र धर्मः सनातनः 3.147.10.

The context of 1.113.7 and 1.113.13 may specially be noted. Here 'धर्मः सनातनः' applies to the prevalent earlier freedom of women in matters relating to their conjugal life. This सनातन धर्म is however found obsolete and is accordingly remodelled by enraged Śvetaketu in order to avoid the resultant social complications, though Pāṇḍu still persuades Kuntī to follow it in action. If this oral poetic technique of repetition is not taken into account the usual dependence on syntactical sequence is bound to mar the values of the interpretation of the ethical ideal of the *Mahābhārata*.

[8] 'One point worth noting with regard to the epic versification is that unlike the written poems of later times, where on the whole single verses form the basic unit, generally the whole continuum of epic verses in a given context seem to have been composed as a unit. The Yugmakas or Kulakas of Sanskrit Kāvya may be said to be somewhat similar to this kind of versification, but by no means based on the same principles'. Thus very often an introduction or refrain with or without modification continues throughout in a series of verses. Cf. the introduction यदाऽश्रौषं and refrain तदा नाशंसे विजयाय संजय in 1.1.102-129, 131-155, and the refrain यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः and its modifications in 6. 34. 14-20.

Chiastic repetition is another common trick of epic versification; cf. **नमो नमस्तेऽस्तु** सहस्रकृत्वः पुनश्च भूयोऽपि **नमो नमस्ते** 6.33.39.

As we have become accustomed to reading from written texts, the traditional poetic formulae including some of such similes and

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8. R. K. Sharma, Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata, (Dissertation, University of California, U. S. A., 1964.

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metaphors of the *Mahābhārata*, sometimes do not appeal to our logical sense. For example, when Ghaṭotkaca, a demon is addressed as 'अमरसंकाश' 3.153.17, we feel somewhat confused. Similarly, the use of the Rāmāyaṇa's phraseology in Sudeva's soliloquy in the description of Damayantī inspite of the changed circumstances, appear to us, as Sukthankar would put it 'a borrowed plume' that does not quite fit in the context. The [9]syntactical incongruity in कृन्तन्ति मम गात्राणि **माघमासे गवामिव** 6.114.60 and कुक्षी खादति मांसानि **माघमासे गवामिव** 12.137.85 is baffling indeed to commentators and textual critics. But all this can be better explained and brought to a harmonious conclusion if we recognize the fact that the [10]*Mahābhārata* was not composed by means of pen and paper but was primarily recited orally to the audience. Though the later Śravya Kāvyas also tried, as the very appellation shows, to imitate the stylistic characteristics of the epics, yet as most of them were perhaps primarily written for readers, they failed to share these traits to a very great extent.

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9. id. cf. Imagery of cattle in the Mahābhārata, read at the 20th Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Bhubaneshwar, 1959.

10. All the Mahābhārata references are from the critical edition, Poona, 1933 —

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THE PROBLEM OF SPURIOUS VERSES IN KĀLIDĀSA'S *RAGHUVAṀŚA*

L. G. Parab, New Delhi.

It is a fact that the only available, well-known and popular text of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, is the one which has the sanction of Mallinātha's gloss. The extensive study of the Raghuvaṁśa with Mallinātha's commentary, for generations in India and abroad, has practically settled the text of this Mahākāvya, as preserved by the southern scholiast. Verses which have been rejected by him as spurious or those which are not to be found in his text, have been discarded as not from the pen of Kālidāsa.

In this paper I have tried to examine the validity of the so-called spurious verses in the light of the commentaries and text-traditions preserved by the commentators Vallabha (व०), Cāritravardhana (चा०), Hemādrl (हे०), Vijayānandasūrīśvara-caraṇasevaka (विजय०), Dinakaramiśra (दि०), Mallinātha (म०), Sumativijaya (सु०), Vijayagaṇin (विज०), and Dharmameru (धर्म०).

Chronologically Vallabha, Cāritravardhana and Hemādri are Mallinātha's predecessors in the field, while Dinakaramiśra and Vijayānandasūrīśvaracaraṇasevaka are perhaps his elder contemporaries. The rest are later commentators, except Dharmameru whose date is not known to me.

The present effort of mine has been inspired in an extended sense, by Kālidāsa's own injunction contained in the second stanza of the first act of *Mālavikāgnimitra*:

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते .... ॥

My study is mainly based on the extensive footnotes given by Shri Nandargikar in his admirable edition of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Poona, 1897).

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All the spurious verses discussed in this paper are to be found in the foot-notes in Nandargikar's edition of *Raghuvaṁśa* (Poona 1897). However, in later printed editions of the work, the number of these verses have considerably decreased. Nandargikar's edition is long out of print and extremely rare. A reprint of it seems almost impossible. Under these circumstances, these verses, which certainly contain at least a few verses composed by Kālidāsa himself, might be forgotten in course of time. This was another consideration why I attempted this problem.

The so-called spurious verses are 66 in all. They are spread over all the cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa* except II, XVI and XIX which do not contain spurious stanzas. The following table shows their distribution in the remaining cantos :—

Canto	No. of Sp. stanzas.	Canto	No. of Sp. stanzas.
I	4	X	2
III	2	XI	4
IV	8	XII	3
V	6	XIII	5
VI	3	XIV	2
VII	1	XV	2
VIII	8	XVII	1
IX	13	XVIII	2

The order of verses according to different commentators is still another aspect of the present problem, to which a critical student of the *Raghuvaṁśa* must give his serious attention. I have not given much thought to this aspect in this paper.

I have also not dealt with the question of additional verses to be found in different manuscripts of the poem but not noticed by commentators.

The critical editions of Mallinātha's *Sañjīvinī* appear only in the editions of S. P. Pandit and Nandargikar. In other editions, the editors have taken too much liberty with Mallinātha's gloss. All my references to it, are from Nandargikar's editions.

I hope that the critical edition of the work promised by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, will give due thought to this problem.

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I now proceed to examine those spurious verses which, according to my understanding, are original compositions of Kālidāsa.

Canto IV

न्यस्तशस्त्रं दिलीपं च तं च शुश्रूषुषां प्रभुम् ।
राज्ञामुद्धृतनाराचे हृदि शल्यमिवार्पितम् ॥

This śloka is read by व०, चा० and सु० between the first and the second ślokas. The acquisition of the kingdom by Raghu is explicitly stated in the first verse. A more or less similar reference in the second stanza of the printed text appears unnecessary. The above verse explains more graphically the actions and reactions that followed. It, therefore, stands to reason that this so-called spurious verse was composed by the poet, probably sometime afterwards, and inserted in the place of the second verse of the printed edition. But the scribe who had both the verses before him wrote down the discarded verse also.

Commentators have no objection to this verse. It satisfies the context better. The verse, therefore, can be taken as genuine.

पुरोगैः कलुषास्तस्य सह प्रस्थायिभिः कृशाः ।
पश्चात्-प्रयायिभिः पङ्काश् चक्रिरे मार्गनिम्नगाः ॥

This spurious verse is read by व०, चा० and सु० between verses 31-32 of the printed text.

The army of Raghu is on the march. This beautiful verse describes exactly what happened on the road, when the army crossed small rivers. First their water became turbid. With the passing of vast army, the streams grew slender and later were turned into actual mud. The verse that follows refers to deep navigable rivers.

The stanza is an independent unit and fits in well in the context. There is no reason why we should discard it.

भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तेन केरलयोषिताम् ।
अलकेषु चमूरेणुः चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृतः ॥

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The verse is read by व०, चा०, सु० and धर्म० between verses 45-46 of the printed text. This also is an independent unit and poetically describes the effect of the dust, raised by the army on the women of Kerala country. It is neither out of context nor does it amount to tautology. This may also be taken as genuine.

जितानजय्यस्तानेव कृत्वा रथपुरःसरान् ।
महार्णवमिवौर्वाग्निः प्रविवेशोत्तरापथम् ॥

This verse is read by व०, चा०, सु०, धर्म० and विज० between verses 66-67 of the printed text.

This verse actually describes the way in which he entered the country of Uttarāpatha i.e. Kashmir and Kabul. The 66th verse indicates only the northern direction. This verse explains a later action of the army of Raghu. This is a genuine verse and was probably rejected, due to lack of proper geographical and topographical knowledge of the country, on the part of southern commentators.

Canto VII

स्तनन्धयन्तं तनयं विहाय विलोकनाय त्वरया व्रजन्ती ।
सम्प्रस्नुताभ्यां पदवीं स्तनाभ्यां सिषेच काचित् पयसागवाक्षात् ॥
(Bet. 10-11).

This verse which is read only by Vallabha, is one of those few verses which are to be found both in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. There is no doubt that this verse is a composition of Kālidāsa.

अनुरञ्जयितुं प्रजाः प्रभुः व्यवहारासनमाददे नवः ।
अपरः शुचिविष्टरस्थितः परिचेतुं यतते स्म धारणाः ॥
(Bet. 18-19)

This verse is read by व०, चा०, दि० and धर्म०. The first two commentators do not know the 18th verse of Mallinātha's text.

The above verse actually answers Kālidāsa's idea of a king, to which he refers at many places. Compare:

(i) 'राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्' IV. 12.
(ii) 'राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः' VI. 21.

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It becomes, therefore, clear that the original verse is the above so-called spurious one, while the 18th verse of Mallinātha's text is a later पाठान्तर, which, therefore, has to be rejected.

नयचक्षुरजो दिदृक्षया पररन्ध्रस्य ततान मण्डले ।
हृदये समरोपयन्मनः परमं ज्योतिरवेक्षितुं रघुः ॥
(Bet. 19-20)

This verse is read by व०, चा०, हे०, दि० and धर्म०. Vallabha reads it after the 17th verse of the printed text. No commentator calls it a spurious verse. This appears to be the original of the 19th verse of the printed text.

Canto IX

The following is the 11th verse of the printed text :—

अवनिमेकरथेन वरूथिना जितवतः किल तस्य धनुर्भृतः ।
विजयदुन्दुभितां ययुरर्णवा घनरवा नरवाहनसम्पदः ॥

This verse is not known to any of the commentators except Mallinātha. This ground is sufficient for its rejection. But there are other reasons also : (i) The first line of this verse is a mere paraphrase of the first line of verse 10 of the text. (ii) The context does not require the stanza.

In the place of this verse व०, चा०, हे०, दि० and सु० read :—

जघननिर्विषयीकृतमेखलान् अनुचिताश्रुविलुप्तविशेषकान् ।
स रिपुदारगणानकरोद् बलाद् अनलकानलकाधिपविक्रमः ॥
(Bet. 10-11)

This is the original 11th verse known to the commentators. We, therefore, accept it.

स्फुरितकोटिसहस्रमरीचिना समचिनोत् कुलिशेन हरिर्यशः ।
स धनुषा युधि सायकवर्षिणा स्वनवता नवतामरसाननः ॥
(Bet. 12-13)

This verse is read by व० and सु०. Several manuscripts read this verse and expressly call the 12th verse of the Mallinātha's text

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a spurious. Actually the verse as it appears in the printed text, is clumsy. The above so-called spurious verse is clear and better.

परभृता मदनक्षतचेतसां प्रियसखी लघुवागिव योषिताम् ।
प्रियतमानकरोत् कलहान्तरे मृदुरवाऽदुरवापसमागमान् ॥
(Bet. 27-28)

This verse is ready by व०, चा०, हे०, दि० and सु०. It is an independent unit. None of the commentators call it spurious. We may, therefore, take it as genuine.

सुरभिसङ्गमजं वनमालया नवपलाशमधार्यत भङ्गुरम् ।
रमणदत्तमिवार्द्रनखक्षतं प्रमदया मदयापितलज्जया ॥
(Bet. 26-27)

This verse is read by व०, चा०, हे०, दि०, सु० and धर्म०. All these commentators appear to prefer this verse to verse 27 of the printed text. The incident of the 'planting of the nails' described in the verse supports the so-called spurious verse, because the नखक्षतs are usually planted by the husband on the body of the wife. The verse of the printed text appears to be a पाठान्तर of this original verse.

Canto X

एकः कारणतस्तां ताम् अवस्थां प्रतिपद्यसे ।
नानात्वं रागसंयोगात् स्फटिकस्येव दृश्यते ॥
(Bet. 17-18)

This verse is read by all the nine commentators including Mallinātha. Stenzler whose text is based mainly on Mallinātha, reads it as the 19th verse of the canto. Other printed editions, however, call it spurious and include it in the foot-notes.

The verse appears genuine and has been probably rejected because of its simplicity. It fits in well after the 16th verse of the printed text and व०, सु० and विजय० actually have it after the 16th verse.

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Canto XI

सोऽभिगम्य किल गाधिसूनुना राममध्वरविघातशान्तये ।
याचितः शिशुमपि प्रजेश्वरस् तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते ॥
(First verse)

Vallabha reads this verse first and calls Mallinātha's first verse as a पाठान्तर. The former is so definite about it that he calls it the 'कविपाठः ।'.

The word 'काकपक्षधर' appears again in verses 31 and 42. It is unlikely that a poet like Kālidāsa should use the same word twice in the same canto. This also supports Vallabha's version of the verse. There is no reason, therefore, why we should call in question what is said by the earliest known commentator of Kālidāsa.

रेजतुश्च सुतरां महौजसः कौशिकस्य पदवीमनुद्रुतौ ।
उत्तरां प्रति दिशं विवस्वतः प्रस्थितस्य मधुमाधवाविव ॥
(Bet. 6-7)

This verse is read by व०, चा०, हे०, दि० and सु०. All these commentators are unanimous in calling the 7th verse of the printed text as a पाठान्तर of the present verse.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have already left the palace. The citizens have seen them off. (Here attention is invited to Vallabha's order of verses: He reads the sixth verse first and then reads the fifth). How can they now touch the feet of their mothers? Some later scribe or teacher, who wanted the princes to bow down to their mothers also, modified the verse and added 'मातृवन्दना' therein but clumsily.

Canto XIII

(a) तमिस्रया शुक्ल-निशेव-भिन्ना कुन्दस्रगिन्दीवरमालयेव ।
कृत्तिर्हरेः कृष्णमृगत्वचेव भूतिः स्मरारेरिव कण्ठभासा ॥ (Bet. 53-54)

(b) दृश्यार्धया शारदमेघलेखा निर्धौतनिस्त्रिंशरुचा दिवेव ।
गवाक्षकालागुरुधूमराज्या हर्म्यस्थलीलेपसुधा नवेव ॥ ,,

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(c) तुषारसङ्घातशिलाहिमाद्रेर् जात्याञ्जनप्रस्तरशोभयेव ।
पतत्रिणां मानसगोचराणां श्रेणीव कादम्बविहङ्गपङ्क्त्या ॥ ,,

(d) नितान्तशुद्धस्फटिकाक्षयोगाद् वैडूर्यकान्त्या रसनावलीव ।
गङ्गा रवेरात्मजया समेता पुण्यत्युदारं परभागमेषा ॥ ,,

All the above four verses are read by व०, चा०, हे०, दि०, सु० and विजय०. They have commented upon these without casting any doubt about their spurious nature. Looking to the context, they can well fit in between 54 and 57.

The four 'क्वचित्-verses' in the printed text (Nos. 54 to 57) may have been later additions, because the 'क्वचित्-अन्यत्र-construction' befits a general description; but can seldom lend grace to a conversation in such circumstances. Here the 'क्वचित्-अन्यत्र construction' appears quite out of place. Hence those verses may be taken as not genuine.

A close examination of the text and the spurious verses will indicate that there were several causes which led to the composition of such verses.

(A) It is well known that the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava* are incomplete Mahākāvyas. The latter is more incomplete than the former. In reality, it is only a fragmentary Mahākāvya. However the composition of the latter was probably started first by the poet. But Kālidāsa's tremendous success as a dramatist, robbed the world of complete editions of the two poems and also perhaps the dramas of Saumilla and Kaviputra, who were his predecessors in the field.

As both the poems were 'under preparation' for several years, the text of certain verses from both was probably revised more than once. During the course of these 'revisions' some verses were improved upon, some were polished, some were replaced by new ones, while some others might have been discarded altogether. As a court-poet Kālidāsa must have received the assistance of scribes for copying his poems. These copies were naturally done at different times. This process must have given rise to several पाठान्तरs and the so-called spurious verses. Particularly after the death of the

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royal poet, when the question arose of arranging in a logical order, what was written by this greatest poet of India, several manuscripts made at different times, might have differed considerably as to the पाठान्तरs and the verses.

The arrangers, to be on the safe side, might have included all that was found in all the manuscripts, of course, in a preferential order. This explains why a better verse comes first and why an inferior verse follows it, when both the verses are more or less similar in contents. The earlier commentators generally follow this order.

In this respect the following pairs of verses may be carefully studied :—

(i) Verse IV. 16 of the text and the spurious verse read by व० and सु० :—

अधिज्यमायुधं कर्तुं समयोऽयं रघोरिति ।
स्वं धनुः शङ्कितेनेव सज्जहे शतमन्युना ॥
(Bet. 15-16)

(ii) Verse VI. 55 of the text and the spurious verse read by व०, चा०, हे० and दि० :—

रणेऽभ्यमित्रीणतया प्रकाशः शरासनज्यानिकषौ भुजाभ्याम् ।
विस्पष्टरेखौ रिपुविक्रमाग्नेर्निर्वाणमार्गाविव यो बिभर्ति ॥
(Bet. 55-56)

(iii) Verse VI. 59 of the text and the spurious verse read by व० and हे० :—

अथाधिगम्योरगराजकल्पं पतिं पुरस्योरगपूर्वनाम्नः ।
आचारपूतोभयवंशदीपं शुद्धान्तरक्ष्या जगदे कुमारी ॥
(Bet. 58-59)

(iv) Verse XI. 50 of the text and the spurious verse read by Vallabha :—

उत्सुकश्च सुतदारकर्मणा सोऽभवद्गुरुरुपागतश्च तम् ।
गौतमस्य तनयोऽनुकूलवाक् प्रार्थितं हि सुकृतामकालहृत् ॥
(Bet. 49-50)

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(B) The *genuinely spurious verses* came into existence perhaps, as a result of damage to manuscripts. When a particular leaf or a portion thereof was lost, the clever scribe or the ambitious teacher, who probably knew the contents of the lost portion, composed the portion and inserted it in the body of the poem.

Such poems lack the Kālidāsan touch and the diction. They are usually pronounced as क्षेपकs, प्रक्षिप्तs or पाठान्तरs by commentators. They are such poor compositions that they themselves betray their spurious nature. To this class belong the following verses:—

(1)	Between	I.	49-50	(References to Nandargikar's edition of 1897)
(2)	,,	I	82-83	
(3)	,,	III	16-17	
(4)	,,	III	40-41	
(5)	,,	IV	After 88	
(6)	,,	V	45-46	
(7)	,,	V	67-68	
(8)	,,	V	69-70	
(9)	,:	V	75-76	
(10)	,,	VIII	9-10	
(11)	,,	VIII	17-18	
(12)	,,	VIII	38-39	
(13)	,,	VIII	51-52	
(14)	,,	IX	24-25	
(15)	,,	IX	33-34	
(16)	,,	IX	37-38	
(17)	,,	IX	66	(Vallabha's पाठान्तर).
(18)	,,	XI	91-92	
(19)	,,	XII	22-23	
(20)	,,	XIII	15-16	
(21)	,,	XIV	1- 2	
(22)	,,	XVII	45	(पाठान्तर)
(23)	,,	XVIII	16-17	
(24)	,,	XVIII	19-20	

A majority of the above is obviously of a *descriptive type*, because descriptions afford a better ground for interpolations.

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Moreover the last two stanzas may not be taken seriously, because the 17th and 18th cantos are decidedly not from the pen of Kālidāsa.

(C) There is yet another class of spurious verses which I call '*fill-in-the-gap type*'. They were probably composed by some admirer of Kālidāsa, who thought that the poem was defective in certain details. He, therefore, tried to fill in the gaps. These verses also clearly show their ungenuine character. The following are examples of this type :—

(1)	Between	VI	67-68
(2)	,,	XIV	69-70
(3)	,,	XV	72-73
(4)	,,	XV	94-95

(D) A still another type exists; this can be called '*paraphrase type*'. These verses look like simple paraphrases of their originals. They are :—

(1)	Between	I	75-76
(2)	,,	VIII	85-86
(3)	,,	IX	82 (Two verses)
(4)	,,	XII	79-80 (Two verses)

(E) There are certain verses which have been termed spurious by all the commentators, who might have known them to be so, by an unbroken tradition. These verses are as follows :—

(1)	Between	V	46-47
(2)	,,	VIII	41-42
(3)	Verse 47 of XI (Mallinātha's text)		
(4)	Verse 34 of XV (do.)		

(i) The last verse is not known to earlier commentators. A word of explanation is necessary here. The actual reference to *Rāmāyaṇa* comes in the 63rd verse later. The present verse is out of context here. This is clearly a later addition, perhaps based on 'स्वकृतिं' in verse 33.

(ii) Similarly the inclusion of the following verses is not favoured by earlier commentators :—

(1)	IX. 10	(Mallinātha's text)
(2)	IX. 13 & 14	(do.)
(3)	IX. 25 & 27	(do.)

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(F) There are a few *obscure verses* which have been noticed by many of the commentators. These verses have the Kālidāsan touch, but they are so corrupt that it is difficult to interpret them satisfactorily. They are the following :—

(1)	Between	I	34-35
(2)	,,	IV	41-42
(3)	,,	X	2-3

(G) Lastly there are a few verses, *which may claim a place in the text by virtue of their merit* and Kālidāsan touch. Comparing them with their counterparts in the printed text, one cannot be definite as to which are original and which are the spurious. Commentators read and comment on both, but are silent as to which of them are spurious. To this class belong the following :—

(1)	Between	IV	47-48
(2)	,,	IX	28-29
(3)	,,	IX	30-31
(4)	,,	IX	36-37
(5)	,,	IX	42-43

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SOMADEVA'S SUBHĀṢITAS AND THE LIGHT THEY THROW ON THE *BṚHAT-KATHĀ* PROBLEM

N. RAGHUNATHAN, MADRAS.

The thesis of this paper may be set down in the following propositions: (1) that classical criticism has regarded the power of uttering memorable 'subhāṣitas' as an indubitable mark of poetic excellence, whether these occur casually in the works of poets and dramatists, or whether they are the main objective of any poet, as in the case of Bhartrhari; (2) that, of all classical poets writing in the epic manner, Somadeva in his *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* is the most prolific in this kind of epigrammatic utterance; (3) that when he claimed (in I.i.11) that he was faithfully rendering the *Bṛhat-kathā* except for adding some of the graces of poetry (without overdoing it) (काव्यांशस्य च योजना), he had in mind these 'subhāṣitas' of his mostly of the length of a hemistich (and also perhaps the few notable nature descriptions he has added); (4) that in claiming for his poem another virtue (औचित्यानवयरक्षा च) he may have been implicitly contrasting his work, to its advantage, with Kṣemendra's *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* which slightly preceded it; (5) that it can be shown that the latter phrase which, differing * from both Lacote and Speyer, I would translate as "propriety of expression and

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* J. H. Speyer in his 'Studies about the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*' argues "Aucitya is the technical term to signify appropriateness" taken in the widest sense of the word. He maintains that "aucitya-anvaya-rakṣā" is the same thing as "aucitya-anvita-rakṣā". This interpretation seems to me to make the word 'Rakṣā' meaningless. But I agree with him, and disagree with Levy and others, in holding that "Kāvyāṁśasya ca yojanā" means only "adding some poetic qualities or graces" to the bald original while rendering it into Samskrit, and that these words are no warrant for holding that Somadeva admits that he has altered the arrangement of the different parts of the poem.

Lacote, in his edition of the *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha* and his essay on it, agrees with the view of Levy and Mankowsky

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sentiment, as well as the observance of social proprieties", suggests to my mind that Somadeva preferred, for reasons indicated in the closing paragraphs of this paper, to retain the poetically more effective, because more logical, arrangement of the poem beyond the fifth Lambaka, which he very likely found in the original *Bṛhat-kathā*, but which Kṣemendra seems to have arbitrarily altered, and at the same time Somadeva may have taken minor liberties with the original, as for example in depicting the actions of his characters in such a manner that they were shown to behave in seemly accord with Varṇa-dharma, Kula-dharma and other social proprieties which a traditional society values ; (6) that regard for propriety in this wider sense, as well as good taste and moderation in poetic embellishment, pre-eminently characterises Somadeva's epigrams; (7) and that his epigrams, far from being mere extraneous ornament, crystallise and make explicit his outlook on life and his philosophy, and thus afford a key to the right understanding of his poem which is in all these respects, far superior to the *Bṛhat-Kathā-Mañjarī*.

Kālidāsa is the supreme master of the art of uttering universal truths in memorable language. Mr. R. V. Krishnamachariar, in his *Sāhitya-ratna-mañjūṣā*, which is a fairly exhaustive collection of the 'subhāṣitas' to be found in the principal Samskrit dramas, the five Mahākāvyas and the known prose works, give 68 quotations from the *Raghuvaṁśa* (which has about

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that Somadeva altered the arrangemnt of the poem, while Kṣemendra was more faithful to the original.

As "anvaya" has the meaning 'race' or 'family', it seems to me that Somadeva, when he spoke of "anvaya-rakṣā" had in mind such contexts as XII. xxxv. 116 (where Mṛgāṅkadatta is shown as dining with the Mataṅga chieftain, though he has him seated at a distance, as that was a very special occasion when all normal caste rules had to be set aside). Any reader of his poem will be impressed by Somadeva's essential conservatism, while the *Bṛhat-kathā*, being of popular origin, may not have always respected tradition and social proprieties. A striking contrast in this respect is furnished by the treatment of the debate over the propriety of mating Madanamañjukā with Naravāhanadatta by the two writers; see *KSH.* VII. 605-612 and Somadeva VI. viii. 234-246.

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1500 slokas), 44 from the first eight *sargas* of the *Kumārasambhava* and 13 from the *Meghasandeśa*. Among the other poets respresented, Bhāravi, whose mastery of the more sententious and thought-laden type of epigram has won for him the tribute भारवेरर्थगौरवं has more than 140 to his credit.

I have listed more than 500 pithy sayings in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. Allowing for some repetition, at least half this number are worth the connoisseur's attention for their brevity, beauty of expression and broad humanity. Of course it is not pretended that, except for a handful, they measure up to the superb achievement of the great masters. Somadeva was mainly concerned with telling a story. But he was a discerning student of the great epics and of the classical works. The influence of Kālidāsa and Vālmīki is visible on almost every page of his long poem of 20,000 ślokas. As in the organisation and handling of his material he clearly profited from his study of Vālmīki, so in his 'subhāṣitas' he was obviously influenced by Kālidāsa's example. He rarely goes in for set descriptions or purple patches, much less for the homiletic exercises that Kṣemendra has a weakness for, as is evident even more in his *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata Mañjaris* than in his *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*. The sentiment Somadeva crystallises in his epigrams flows naturally from the story he tells. It is in keeping with the mood and character of the *persona* into whose mouth he puts it.

While it is peculiarly apposite to the context in which it appears, Somadeva's 'subhāṣita' can be detached from its setting without appreciably losing its power of impact or its appeal to the aesthetic sense. And if these hundreds of sayings scattered over a huge work are considered together, they are found to have a striking internal coherence. It becomes abundantly clear that, while Somadeva regarded these epigrams as legitimate for imparting a tang or a touch of colour, to what otherwise might have been a pedestrian narrative, he was not epigramming for epigram's sake.

In illustration a few examples are given:

(1) कृतघ्नानां शिवं कुतः । (I. iii. 44)

(2) स्त्रीषु वाक्संयमः कुतः । (I. i. 53)

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(3) अकाण्डपातोपनता कं न लक्ष्मीर्विमोहयेत् । (I. v. 2)

(4) ईर्ष्या हि विवेकपरिपन्थिनी । (I. v. 15)

(5) आसंसारं जगत्यस्मिन्नेका नित्या ह्यनित्यता । (I. v. 103)

(6) जलाहतौ विशेषेण वैद्युताग्नेरिव द्युतिः ।
आपदि स्फुरति प्रज्ञा यस्य धीरः स एव हि ॥ (II. iv. 41.)

(7) भुक्त्वा बलिभुजं काकी कोकिले रमते कथम् । (iv. 180)

(8) वक्ति जन्मान्तरप्रीतिं मनः स्निह्यदकारणम् । (IV ii. 65)

(9) किं व्याजेनार्जवे जने । (IV. ii. 115)

(10) न धर्मस्यैकरूपता । (VI. i. 21)

(11) न भेकः कोकनदिनीकिंजल्कास्वादकोविदः । (VI. iv. 78)

(12) अहो धात्रा पुरा सृष्टं साहसं तदनु स्त्रियः (VI. viii. 177)

(13) नित्यस्निग्धा हि राजता । (VII. ii. 68)

(14) हंसाः पद्मवने तावन्नादं कुर्वन्ति सुस्थिताः ।
यावत्पश्यन्ति नायान्तं मेघमाच्छादिताम्बरम् । (VIII. iii. 169)

(15) पङ्को हि नभसि क्षिप्तः क्षेप्तुः पतति मूर्धनि । (VIII. vi. 220)

(16) पूरा नदीनां पुष्पाणि तरूणां शशिनः कलाः ।
क्षीणानि पुनरायान्ति यौवनानि न देहिनाम् ॥ (IX. v. 110)

(17) जीवत्यर्थदरिद्रोऽपि धीदरिद्रो न जीवति । (X. viii. 42)

(18) यादृशास्तन्तवः कामं तादृशो जायते पटः । (XII. xi 130)

(19) लोकचित्तं हि दुर्ग्रहम् ।

(20) विभवः किंनु मूर्खस्य काष्ठस्याभरणैरिव ।

(21) परार्थफलजन्मानो न स्युर्मार्गद्रुमा इव ।
तापच्छिदो महान्तश्चेज्जीर्णारण्यं जगद्भवेत् (XIV. ii. 2)

Though he rarely goes in for elaborations, Somadeva can, when the occasion warrants it, produce the sententious and

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rounded 'subhāṣitas' of the kind that Bhartṛhari has made famous; for example see:

(1) ऐश्वर्यमीर्ष्या नैर्घृण्यं क्षीबत्वं निर्विवेकिता ।
एकैकं किं न यत्कुर्यात् पञ्चाङ्गित्वे तु का कथा ॥

(2) किं वा व्योम विनार्केण किं तोयेन विना सरः ।
किं मन्त्रेण विना राज्यं किं सत्येन विना वचः ॥ (VI. vii. 181)

(3) कोशेषु व्यलसन्निपीतमधवो ये कैरवाणां चिरं
लब्धाभ्यन्तरसुस्थिता विकसतामिन्दुप्रभासंगमे ।
ते संकोचमुपागतेषु विगलच्छ्रीकेषु तेष्वन्यतो
भृङ्गाः पश्य कुमार यान्ति मलिना कस्य स्थिरा ह्यापदि ॥
(XII. xxxvi. 214)

It may be admitted that there is nothing really original in the thought expressed in these 'subhāṣitas'. It is true, too, that in some of them one can detect echoes of other poets, notably Kālidāsa. Nevertheless they convey the mood or the 'rasa' with the elegance of expression and the classical finish which characterise the highest type of 'subhāṣita'.

Kṣemendra in his *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* has introduced about 250 subhāṣitas in more or less the same way. As his work is but a third of the length of Somadeva's, this proportion is certainly significant. One naturally asks oneself whether Somadeva, in introducing epigrams liberally, might not have been influenced by Kṣemendra's example. Before trying to answer that question it might be best to set out a few parallel passages occurring in identical or broadly similar contexts.

(1) कं वा नाभिनवा लक्ष्मीर्वारुणीव विमोहयेत्। (I. ii. 43) Cf. (3) on p. 65

(2) अल्पा ह्युपकृतिर्याति विस्तारं विषमस्थितौ । III. i. 196.
Cf. with Somadeva's
कालदत्तं वरं ह्यल्पं अकाले बहुनापि किम् ।

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(3) स्त्रीनायकं वरं स्थानमथवा बालनायकम् ।
अनायकं वरं यावन्न चैव बहुनायकम् ॥ III. i. 205.

Cf. with Somadeva's

वरं हि दैवयत्तैकवृत्तिस्थानमनायकम् ।
नहि विप्लुतसर्वार्थं विभिन्नबहुनायकम् ॥

conjoined with another even more clinching statement

वीरो हि स्वाम्यमर्हति ।

(4) परोपदेशे सर्वो हि सदा भवति पण्डितः । VI. i. 94.

Cf. Somadeva's

परार्थन्यायवादेषु काणोऽप्यम्लानदर्शनः ।

[which gains in richness of content by the fact that the man who rebuked his fellows for quarrelling was (physically) a one-eyed man.]

(5) योषितां च नदीनां च पुनरागमनं कुतः ।

Cf. (16) on p. 4.

(6) प्रभवन्ति यतो लोकाः प्रलयं यान्ति येन च ।
संसारचक्रं विभ्रान्तः कः पिधातुं स ईश्वरः ॥

Somadeva's

प्रभवन्ति यतो लोकाः प्रलयं यान्ति येन च ।
संसारवर्त्म विवृतं कः पिधातुं स ईश्वरः ॥

It seems to me that Somadeva's way of putting it is more effective, because it is more pointed, and conveys suggestive overtones, unlike Kṣemendra's observations which too often trail off into a diffuse and copious elaboration of a minor point of manners or morals, and ignore the truth that brevity is the soul of wit. Thus, in the last example quoted above, which occurs in almost the only frankly vulgar story that Somadeva admits into his work, it will be readily seen that his संसारवर्त्मविवृतम् is far more expressive

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than Kṣemendra's संसारचक्रम् or even the वर्त्म वितर्तं which is given as a variant reading in the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition.

It is fairly clear, from the above that both writers were sometimes elaborating an idea, the germ of which was present in the story itself as it was presented to them by their original, whether the original was the Paiśācī *Bṛhat-kathā* itself or some Kashmirian recension of it. An alternative theory would be that it was Kṣemendra, who with his bent for epigrammatic statement, as revealed in his other compendia, first thought of introducing this kind of embellishment, and that Somadeva took the cue from him. But this alternative seems to be ruled out by the fact that there are scores of sayings in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* occurring in contexts that are also dealt with by Kṣemendra, at not much less length, but these sayings find no counterpart in the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*. The inference seems inescapable that in these parts Kṣemendra did not find any hints in the original, implicit either in the story or the language, that could set his fancy working. His *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata Saṅgrahas*, though full of sententious sayings, show that his purple patches and little moral pieces are almost always built round a suggestive hint or situation expressed with terseness and point by the epic itself.

If it is safe to conclude that there were present in the original *Bṛhat-kathā* some moral sayings or statements of general truths which led both Kṣemendra and Somadeva to explore this vein more systematically, they could not have been many. This impression is confirmed by the fragment of the *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-sangraha* of Budhasvāmin. That poem has, as Lacote observes, a great deal of poetic merit. But the story, partaking as it does of the character of a picaresque novel, may have seemed to Budhasvāmin not an appropriate vehicle for the kind of sophisticated sentiment and suggestive phraseology that go naturally with court poetry and are apotheosised in the "subhāṣita".

He no doubt occasionally strikes a spark as in the following:

काव्यस्त्रीवस्त्रचन्द्रेषु प्रायेण विगुणेष्वपि ।
अपुराणेषु रज्यन्ते स्वभावादेव जन्तवः ॥

But as a rule he is content to show his skill in freshness of description, in the sustaining of dramatic interest, and so on; his tempo

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is too quick to admit of the leisurely reflection that provides the right atmosphere for the blossoming of the 'subhāṣita'. In this respect he may have been closer to the original *Bṛhat-kathā* than either Somadeva or Kṣemendra, though it is not possible to allow all the claims made for his poem by Lacote.

A comparison of the way in which Somadeva and Kṣemendra handled material drawn from such collections as the *Pañcatantra* and the *Vetāla* stories (whether they took these stories from the *Bṛhat-kathā* or direct from the originals) is equally instructive. Take the story of the lion and the hare in the former. Hertel's edition of Pūrṇabhadra's text shows that in all the *Pañcatantra* versions the story begins with the words बुद्धिर्यस्य बलं तस्य निर्बुद्धेस्तु कुतो बलम् Kṣemendra omits the line altogether. Somadeva gives the sentiment rather more body by substituting प्रज्ञा नाम बलं तस्माच्चिप्रज्ञस्य बलेन किम्। While the original merely affirms that intelligence is the true strength, Somadeva contrasts intelligence with bodily strength and shows how the latter is unavailing without the former. The difference in the way Somadeva and Kṣemendra conclude the story is equally notable.

The Jīmūtavāhana story is one of those that are repeated twice in both the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. Both writers stick to the same variation in the plot between the first and the second versions, apparently because their common original had this variation. In the earlier Jimūtavāhana does not die, in the later he dies and is restored to life by the grace of Devī. That apart, Kṣemendra's first version is short to the point of being bald and uninteresting. His second is far more elaborate, but his skill is all lavished on investing Jīmūtavāhana's love with a romantic halo; in fact he overdoes the romance. Somadeva on the contrary concentrates on the universal compassion which is the key-note of the story. He manages to impart to each of his two versions enough individuality to justify the telling of the same tale twice–an obligation imposed upon him evidently by his resolve to be faithful to his original. Apart from the superior dramatic power and the flawless taste of his renderings, his power of epigram is seen to greater advantage than that of Kṣemendra: compare their handling of the same idea. Somadeva describes Śaṅkhacūḍa's refusal to allow Jīmūtavāhana to sacrifice himself in

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order to save him, and he reinforces this with a simile which is somewhat differently put in his two versions.

The first is न काचस्य कृते जातु युक्ता मुक्तामणेः क्षतिः ।

The second is रत्नव्ययेन पाषाणं को हि रक्षितुमर्हति ।

In Kṣemendra's first version, there is no occasion for any simile, for the simple reason that Śankhacūḍa makes no serious attempt to dissuade Jīmūtavāhana. In his second version Śaṅkhacūḍa does make the attempt. The simile he uses is :

सहामहे कथं नाम तृणार्थे रत्नविक्रयम् ।

This is far less effective than the Somadeva simile where the contrast between पाषाण and रत्न emphasises the disparity in value, by showing that while both possess hardness, one has an internal glow which is denied to the other—an apt metaphor for the burning compassion in the heart of Jīmūtavāhana. *Kṣemendra's तृण is colourless in comparison. And Somadeva, unlike Kṣemendra, emphasises that Jīmūtavāhana's superiority lies in the fact that in a world of self-regarding men, the man who sacrifices himself is as rare as he is precious.

In comparing him with Somadeva I have been only concerned to show that, unlike him, Somadeva was handling the 'subhāṣita' purposefully using it for enhancing the total artistic effect and moral diginty of the poem.

I have already indicated my view that Somadeva's 'subhāṣitas' are not extraneous ornaments, that they are an index to his mind. It seems to me that he undertook the retelling of the

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*I would not like to be understood as suggesting that Kṣemendra was an inferior poet. These compendia (of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata)* were the work of his youth. And even in these he often achieves a striking felicity of phrase and simile A few examples may be given from the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* :

(1) न हि दारुमयो हस्ती करोति समरक्रियाम् । (2) ·····नयनमार्गेण प्रीतिर्हि विशति स्वयम्। (3) चेतः चित्तं हि पश्यति । (4) अनुभूतव्यथः सर्वो जानाति परवेदनाम्। (5) श्वजिह्वाभिरिव स्त्रीणां लीढः को नैति रिक्तताम् ।

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Bṛhat-kathā, not in a professional spirit as Kṣemendra did, but because it was a story after his own heart and lent itself to the free play of his poetic fancy by reason of his sympathy with its underlying ideas. A brief statistical analysis of his 'subhāṣitas' is not without interest, as revealing his dominant preoccupations. Thus more than a hundred of his sayings (about 20% of the total) reveal the fascination that the study of men and women had for him. And, closely linked with this, is his admiration for resolute men (to whom 15% of his aphorisms are devoted). Kṣemendra's pointed sayings concerning these matters are far fewer and much less memorable. There is to be found in Somadeva's world-view something of the mediaeval European ideal of courtly love and knightly valour summed up in the concept of the *honnete home* (the man of honour). This goes hand in hand with admiration for men cast in the mould of the heroes of the European Renaissance, men who could wrest victory from the jaws of defeat, who hewed their way to fortune through a forest of difficulties, who could be ruthless with others as with themselves. But there is one important difference. Somadeva is Indian enough to keep us constantly aware of the fact that destiny cannot be by-passed, for the simple reason that it is the fruit of one's own *karma*; but the hero does not allow himself to be paralysed by the thought. It serves only to make him more careful to see that his conscious impulses are ruled by righteousness, as the pursuit of Dharma is the only ultimate safeguard of one's welfare here and hereafter. And if, in spite of his best effort, he is foiled, the thought that Destiny is supreme saves him from despondency and cynicism.

In his characterisation of women, Somadeva shares to some extent the traditional attitude that woman is the weaker vessel, full of fickleness, not over-scrupulous where her affections are not engaged, but capable of sacrificing everything for love, and therefore a constant lure, often to their undoing, of weak men. This traditional view is adopted by Kṣemendra wholesale, and though he has a few 'subhāṣitas' that praise chaste and constant women, the praise strikes one's ear as perfunctory. Somadeva, on the other hand, can find no tribute too high for the good women he celebrates, and to his credit it must be said that his good women are not incredible and that though they are not as various and

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vividly distinguished as his wantons, they remain in our minds because they are often depicted, not as merely meek and passive instruments of man's will, but as persons of great spirit and sturdy good sense, who are true helpmeets to their spouses.

In the Ratnaprabhā Lambaka (*K. S. S.* VII) Somadeva expounds his view of the superiority of women who are not constrained to loyalty to their spouses by conventions or by physical restraints, but who give their love and devotion freely, prompted by affection and by their own natural goodness and modesty. These ślokas of the Lambaka may be regarded as providing the key to Somadeva's dominant sentiment.

इति जगति न रक्षितुं समर्थः क्वचिदपि कश्चिदपि प्रसह्य नारीम् ।
अवति तु सततं विशुद्ध एकः कुलयुवतीं निजसत्त्वपाशबन्धः ॥
एवं चेर्ष्या नाम दुःखैकहेतुः दोषः पुंसां द्वेषदायी परेषाम् ।
योऽयं मा भूद्दक्षणायाङ्गनानामत्यौत्सुक्यं प्रत्युतासां करोति ॥
(VII. iii. 133-4)

Kṣemendra, whose version of the Ratnaprabhā episode is just one-third of the length of Somadeva's, does not realise the possibilities that Somadeva so fruitfully exploits. He too, has a verse or two of the same import (See *B.K.M.* XIV. 107, 147 and 200 to 204) but far more feeble. The sentiment which both writers express was suggested to them by the common original. But Kṣemendra, unlike Somadeva, has little faith in the nobility that is resplendant in some women and that may therefore be regarded as not foreign to the nature of women as such. The contrast between the two writers in this respect is vividly brought out by their handling of the tenth Vetāla story. The delicacy and tact with which Somadeva handles the story is in refreshing contrast to Kṣemendra's crude and rather worldly sentiments provoked by the difficult situation in which Madanasenā finds herself. Though the young man who passionately loves her speaks (in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgra* version) the language of impulsiveness when he says

परभुक्ते हि कमले किमलेर्जायते रतिः ।

his better nature asserts itself when she returns to fulfil her promise, and he tells her "I am pleased with your regard for truth.

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But you are another man's wife. I won't touch you." But Kṣemendra represents Madanasenā's promise to come back to Dharmadatta as prompted by affection instead of by a compulsive sense of duty to stick to her word, however unpleasant the consequences, which is the way Somadeva puts it. Kṣemendra's *obiter dictum*:

.... प्रीतये हि मृगीदृशाम् ।
प्रणयादस्त्युपगमो यथा नैव तथा हठात् ॥

makes Dharmadatta's later refusal to touch her because she was another man's wife, not very believable.

Even more striking is the difference in the handling of the "Sūryaprabha" episode by the two poets. Kṣemendra's is very perfunctory; he devotes very much less than 300 ślokas to it. Somadeva devotes six times as many. Lacote's glib explanation, that Kṣemendra slurred over the whole thing because as a devout Vaiṣṇavite he did not like the glorifying of Śiva, totally misses the point. Kṣemendra, whatever his personal religion, shows the poet's true tolerance in praising every deity, Śiva no less heartily than Viṣṇu where there is occasion for it. The real truth is that he did not grasp the significance of the episode as providing the key to the Vidyādhara cult as developed in the *Bṛhat-kathā*. Though Asuras support the candidate for the Emperorship of the Vidyādharas who is opposed by Viṣṇu's protege and who has the support of the Devas, the fight here is really between the active self-reliant type of hero who makes his own destiny and the passive type of man who counts on divine favour. Somadeva, with his admiration for the *honnete homme*, naturally depicts the Vidyādharas as the semi-divine prototype of this kind of hero. (In one place he says that the gods themselves are born as heroes). So he throws himself with zest into the elaboration of a tale which seems ideally fitted to serve as an imaginative vehicle for his world-view.

From the argument thus briefly presented, emerges another tentative conclusion regarding the *Bṛhat-kathā* and the respective degrees of fidelity with which Somadeva and Kṣemendra have presented it in their different versions, so far as the arrangement of the plot is concerned. Lacote has devoted a good deal of mis-

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spent ingenuity to maintaining that in the arrangement of the Lambakas beyond the fifth, Kṣemendra reflects the order of the original more correctly than Somadeva; this seems to be due partly to aesthetic insensibility, partly to his overrating of the *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha*. Somadeva, in placing Ratnaprabhā immediately after the Madanamañjukā book brings out vividly the difference between the two types of women—the passive sort who allow themselves to be loved rather than love actively, and who are content to be shadows of their spouses—and the active, energetic type full of individuality, self-reliance and good sense, who do not think that it is necessary for the feminine woman not to have a mind of her own. As that much-married hero Naravāhanadatta is himself largely a creature of impulse (though not without a constant awareness of his high destiny), Ratnaprabhā and her kind (among his spouses) are a better foil to him than Madanamañjukā and her type. Madanamañjukā lends herself to idealisation by Naravāhanadatta the more easily because she remains long separated from him.

Somadeva is guided by the same artistic impulse in placing the Sūryaprabha episode much later than the Śaktivega episode. Speyer is not right in suggesting that there is no special significance in this. The "Śaktivega" episode, relating the story of a mere mortal rising to be a Vidyādhara king, is more or less a fairy tale and is appropriately related when Naravāhanadatta is a young boy. The "Sūryaprabha" story is a much more elaborate affair, almost a miniature epic, as Speyer has well put it. It recounts the heroic efforts by which an 'outsider' fights his way to empire over all the Vidyādhara kingdoms. It is only fitting that this inspiring tale, with its many useful hints for practical action, should be told to Naravāhanadatta when he has grown into a serious young man qualifying for victory in the great fight. There are equally good reasons for the arrangement of other episodes in Somadeva's version, which suggests that he was rightly claiming that he was faithful to the original. In a work in progress on Somadeva's poem, I hope to show this in fuller detail.

The 'subhāṣitas' of Somadeva, and indeed his great poem itself, have not received the attention they deserve at the hands of 'rasikas'. True, H. H. Wilson wrote of them appreciatively, "We

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may here observe once for all that the stories of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* are constantly interspersed with pithy maxims of sound morality". Grierson paid a tribute to Somadeva's dry humour. Speyer speaks of him as a poet next only in importance to Kālidāsa, and praises in particular, "the elegant and pointed sentences strewn about here and there with a good taste", rightly observing that the distance that separates him from Kṣemendra in this respect is well brought out by a comparison of *K. S. S.* Taraṅga 5, ślokas 50-51, and their feeble counter-part in Kṣemendra's I, 186-188. But European writers as a rule have been too preoccupied with the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* as a quarry for folklorists and anthropologists to assess it at its proper worth as a poem. Indian critics on the other hand have been too much under the influence of the later-day artificial 'kāvya' to give Somadeva his just due. They have implicitly treated him as no more and no less than a good teller of tales. I do not go so far as Speyer in placing him next only to Kālidāsa. But I have no hesitation in saying that he is undoubtedly a great poet, a Mahākavi. And as nobody has attempted to look into his 'subhāṣitas' for a clue to the right assessing of his mind and art and to the understanding of some at least of the *Bṛhat-kathā* problems that have fascinated and baffled scholars, I have prepared, and hope to publish shortly, a fairly full selection of his pointed and elegant sayings with a new English translation, which I trust will be found fully to bear out the rich claims on their behalf made for them and argued out so far as I know for the first time in this paper.

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ŚRĪDATTOPĀDHYĀYA, THE MAITHILA SMĀRTA

By Ganguly Shastri, Chandernagore, West Bengal

Śrīdattopādhyāya was the earliest Smṛti-digest writer of Mithilā whose works still exist. From a study of the different manuscript catalogues we get the following works attributed to him: (1) *Ācārādarśa*, (2) *Chandogāhnika*, (3) *Pitṛ-bhakti*, (4) *Śrāddha kalpa*, (5) *Samaya-pradīpa*, (6) *Śuddhi-nirṇaya*, and (7) *Vratasāra* or *Vrata-paddhati*.

(1) Of these, *Ācārādarśa*, as the name suggests (mirror of customs) deals with customs, i.e. daily observances of a brahmin of the Vājasaneya school. The contents of the work begin with the duties at day-break, attending nature's call, cleansing the body, bathing at morning etc. Then comes the discussion about Sandhyopāsanā etc., in course of which the Nitya-śrāddhas, Vaiśvadevas, Bali and a lot of such items have been discussed in minute detail. As a result this book became the source of later treatises on the same subject.

The work has been printed at Benares in Saṁvat 1924. The work has been commented upon twice :—the names of the commentaries are:–*Ācārādarśa-vyākhyā* (for which see Des. Cat. of Mss. in Mithila vol. i. p. 31) and (2) *Ācārādarśa-bodhinī* by Gaurīpati (for which see p. 221 of vol. III of H. P. Shastri Cat. of Ind. Govt. (Smṛti) Mss. in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

(2) *Chandogāhnika* or the daily rites and customs of the Sāmavedins (Chandogas), is in one sense complementary to the former which is a treatise of the Yajurvedins. This in our opinion is perhaps the most important work of Śrīdatta. Here the writer initiated many debatable points and tried to solve them in his own way. In one place he gave out that the *Kāmadhenu*[1] (one

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1. अत एव कात्यायनीयस्नानविधिः राजाऽलिखितोऽपि शिष्टैरनुष्ठीयते, कामधेनौ च लिखित इति। राजाऽलिखितोऽपि गोभिलतर्पणविधिः कामधेनुलिखित इति सोऽप्यादेय इति॥

Chandogāhnika, (India Govt. ms. fol. 10 b.)

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earlier and authentic Smṛti digest) was as reliable as the *Rājanibandha* (another authentic digest). It is noteworthy that according to Prof. H. P. Shastri and K. P. Jayaswal and also according to traditional idea Bhojarāja was the writer of both the treatises. Mm. P. V. Kane, however, does not agree. In another place Śrīdatta gave out that when necessary Vedic-mantras are not available one might take help of *Pāñcarātra* texts as there was the sanction of the *Vārāha Purāṇa*, and as such texts were praised in the *Mahābhārata*. Śrīdatta knew fully well that the orthodox society would always support the arguments of Kumārila Bhāṭṭa (as found in the *Tantra-Vārtika* under the section *Bāhya-Granthānām Aprāmāṇya-Nirūpaṇam* and of Śaṅkarācārya (as found in his commentary on *Brahma Sūtra* II. 2. 42-45, i.e. the *Utpatyadhikaraṇam*). He avoided the difficulty by saying that the arguments of Kumārila and of Śaṅkara were applicable to the anti-Vedic texts only[2]. This recognition of the non-Vedic texts in the Smṛti Nibandhas had much importance of its own and it had a bearing upon the successors of Śrīdatta. In fact Śrīdatta was forced to recognize the non-Vedic elements of his time. In Kāmarūpa we have the evidence of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Yoginī Tantra* to prove the existence of sectarian strife and the rise of tantric and other non-/or/ anti-Vedic elements in the society. In Bengal we have the *Devī Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, the *Kriyā-yogasāra*, the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. and others to prove the above. The *Brahma Puṛāṇa* and the *Sāmba Upapurāṇa* testify the rise of the above-mentioned sects in Orissa. The *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*, the *Śivadharmottara* and *Devībhāgavata* along with others confirm the fact that Benares was also selected by the so-called Pāṣaṇḍas as their seat. In Nepal we have the *Bṛhat Svayambhū Purāṇa* and other Buddhist Sanskrit texts to show that the Bauddhas were trying to oust the Śaivas and others and establish a stronghold of the non-Vedic

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2. सा च (=विष्णुपूजा) पुरुषसूक्तेन, विष्णुसंहितया विष्णूक्तकल्पेन वा। वेदमन्त्राभावे पञ्चरात्रकल्पस्त्रैवर्णिकस्य। पञ्चरात्रनिर्मूलत्वाभिधानं तु निर्मूल-मेव ॥ अलाभे वेदमंत्राणां पञ्चरात्रोदितो विधिरिति वराहपुराणसंवादात्। महाभारतादौ प्रशंसितत्वाच्च। न च पञ्चरात्राप्रामाण्यव्यवस्थापकवेदान्तीय-नयविरोधः। तस्य वेदविरोधात्माद्युपदर्शकशाण्डिल्यादिपञ्चरात्रगोचरत्वात्। भट्टवार्त्तिककारीयपञ्चरात्राप्रामाण्याभिधानमपि वेदविरुद्धार्थविषयमेव ॥

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sects there. When all the places surrounding Mithilā were thus attacked by sectarian struggle and also by the non-Vedic sects it was no wonder that Mithilā also became attacked and influenced by the non-Vedic elements, and as a result of which Śrīdatta was forced to recognize them. Still there remained a gap regarding the recognition of the *Pāśupatās* and Śrīdatta's successor Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura extended his approval to the *Pāśupatas* (of course with the reservation made by Śrīdatta). We have discussed the causes and results of such widening of the sources of Smṛti in a separate article named "*The Social and Religious Background of the Study of Smṛti in Mithilā*" which is being published in the *Bulletin of the Dept. of P. G. Training and Research, Sanskrit College*, Calcutta [3].

The value of the work lies in the fact that it was the earliest extant Smṛti digest of Mithilā and consequently it became the source to many. Śrīdatta was the first Maithila to use the authority of the non-Vedic texts and in this respect he may be compared with Śūlapāṇi Sāhuḍiyāna, an important Smṛti writer of Bengal. These two men changed the horizon of digest-writing by their absorption of Pāñcarātra and Tantra texts into the orthodox fold.

In course of time this work appeared too lengthy to be followed by persons of Mithilā, hence Śaṅkaramiśra, the well-known anthor of the Upaskāra, abridged the book under the title *Chandogāhnikoddhāra.*

(3) *Pitṛ-bhakti* (or Ancestor-worship) is nothing but a treatise on the funeral rites to be observed by brahmins belonging to the *White Yajurveda.* The work has been utilised by later writers on the same subject and noteworthy among them are Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati and Rudradhara. We are told that Vācaspatimiśra was the most important writer on Smṛti in Mithilā; but a study of Vācaspati's *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi* and

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3. "Our Heritage" [*Bulletin of the Dept. of Post Graduate Training Research*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta,] Vol. IV. 1956, pp. 239-251 and the coming issues of the journal.

For mss. of *Chandogāhnika*, see H. P. Shastri Cat. vol. iii. pp. 350-352, Mithila Cat. pp. 128-131, etc.

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Śrīdatta's *Pitṛbhakti* will show that Śrīdatta acted as the basis of all later writers of the province. Vācaspati in many places simply referred to the opinion of Śrīdatta and gave no opinion of his own[4]. Here we see that Śrīdatta was an adept in introducing debatable topics. Here he discussed at length the relative authenticity of the works *Kāmadhenu*, *Rājanibandha*, *Gauḍanibandhas* etc. He repudiated the Gauḍa Smṛti texts although he freely utilised them. He referred to the *Smṛtiprāmāṇyādhikaraṇa*[5] of the Mīmāṁsā-sūtras to refute the unauthorised statements in the Gauḍa-nibandhas. His arguments are, however, confusing in many places.

For mss. of *Pitṛbhakti* see H. P. Shastri Cat. pp. 399-400; Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit Mss. vol. V. p. 250; Mithila Cat. pp. 280-282. Mitra, Bikaner Cat, has a ms. (no. 928) where

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४. e.g. fol. 25a of *Pitṛbhakti* (Re. Śrāddha by 12 different types of sons), has the following:—अत्र **महार्णवप्रकाशे कल्पतरौ हलायुधीय-श्राद्धाध्याये** च व्यवस्थोक्ता—औरसक्षेत्रजाभ्यां साग्निभ्यां मृताहे पार्वणं कर्तव्यम्, इतरैस्तु दशभिः पुत्रैः निरग्निभिः साग्निभिश्च एकोद्दिष्टं कर्त्तव्यम्.....etc.

In the *Śrāddha-Cintamaṇi* of Vācaspati (p. 136) we have the same remark—

अत्र च **प्रकाश-हलायुध-कल्पतरु-पारिजात-पितृभक्ति-प्रदीप-विवेकेषु** इयं व्यवस्था—यद् औरसक्षेत्रजाभ्यां साग्निभ्यां मृताहे पितुः पार्वणं कर्तव्यम्.....साग्निभ्याम् औरसक्षेत्रजाभ्यां पार्वणेति-कर्तव्यतया एकोद्दिष्टमेव कार्यम्.....इति **रत्नाकरः**।

५. तदेतानि वाक्यानि **राज्ञा**लिखितत्वादनादेयानीति केचित्॥ तदयुक्तं **कामधेनु**वपि **राजनिबन्धवत्** शिष्टपरिग्रहात्। **संशयस्तर्हीति चेत् न** (Mm. P. V. Kane in Deccan College Ms. संशयं नार्हसीति .....चेत्)**राजा**लिखितस्यादर्शनेनाप्युपपत्तेः। न हि यावन्ति स्मृतिवाक्यानि तावन्ति सर्वाण्येव **राज्ञा** दृष्टानीति प्रमाणमस्ति। न च **राज**लिखितमेवा-द्रियते इत्यपि निश्चयः... ....**रामायणादे**रनादर-प्रसङ्गात्.....

तथेह यत्स्मृतिवचनं महाजनपरीगृहीतं तत् प्रमाणम्। **स्मृत्य-धिकरणन्यायात्**। न चैवं गौडनिबन्धानामपि प्रामाण्यापत्तिः। निर्मूल-बहुवचनत्वेन शिष्टैरनादृतत्वात्। fol. 27b. It is noteworthy that

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the writer's name has not been given. But from the introductory verse

कातीयकल्पं सह कर्कभाष्यं भूपालगोपालमतादि दृष्ट्वा ।
सतां च वाक्यानि निशम्य सम्यग्यजुर्विदां श्राद्धविधिं विधास्ये ॥

and from the remark इति संकीर्णाध्यायो द्वितीयः this book can be identified with *Pitṛbhakti* which has two commentaries :— (1) *Pitṛbhakti-caryā* by Mahādeva and (2) *Pitṛbhakti-vyākhyā* by Murāri (see pp. 282 and 285 of Mithila Catalogue).

(4) *Śrāddhakalpa* :—This is also a treatise on Śrāddha ceremony of the Sāmavedins. Prof. H. D. Velankar opined (See the Cat. of mss. in the I. S. Desai Collection in the Bombay University) that the work was also known as *Pitṛbhakti*. But we have seen that *Pitṛbhakti* is a separate book and that the *Śrāddhakalpa* has been mentioned by Śrīdatta himself in his *Pitṛbhakti*.....(*iti prapañcitam asmābhiś - chandoga - Śrāddhakalpe* .....fol. 15b of the Ind. Govt. Ms. in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

For mss. of *Śrāddhakalpa* see :- Benares Sarasvati Bhavana Catalogue of mss. (ed. Upadhyaya and Jha), vol. iii. Nos. 13180 & 13764; Mithila Cat. vol. iii. pp. 457-458 and Prof. H. D. Velankar's Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Itchharam Suryyaram Desai Collection of the Bombay University, p. 51.

(5) *Samayapradīpa* or the lamp on Samaya (customs) is a standard work on different Ācāras and like a lamp the digest throws light as to their time, procedure, efficacy etc. On the

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Harināṭha also in his *Smṛtisāra* made these remarks against the Gauḍas in the same language.
स्मृत्यधिकरण refers to the स्मृतिप्रामाण्याधिकरण of the मीमांसासूत्र

(i) धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वादशब्दमनपेक्षं स्यात् I. 3. 1.

(ii) अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात् I. 3. I. 2.
Śrīdatta referred to the स्मृतिप्रामाण्याधिकरण by the word स्मृत्यधिकरण and हरिनाथ in his स्मृतिसार used the term स्मृतिकरण

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admission of the writer, the essence of different Vratas was collected from different digests and compiled together. The Vratas discussed here are :—The Gaṇeśa-vratas (as the Avighna-vrata, Vināyaka-caturthī etc.), the Sūrya-vratas (as the Bhānu-vrata, Ārogya-vrata etc.), Śiva-vratas (as Rudra-vrata, Śivarudra-vrata etc.), Viṣṇu-vratas (as Aśūnya-śayana-vrata, Dvādaśī-vrata etc.); Asi-vrata, Indra-vrata, Candra-vrata, Śaurya-vrata, Devī-vrata etc. This work written in 3 chapters became one of the authorities to later writers like Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati, Rudradhara, Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana etc.

For mss. of the work see :—H. P. Shastri Cat. vol. iii. p. 697 ; Deccan College Mss. No. 371 of 1875-76; India Office Catalogue VI. No. 1683 ; R. L. Mitra's Bikanar Cat. p. 452; Mithila Cat. pp. 488-90; Sarasvatī Bhavana Cat. vol. iii. Nos. 11887, 13066 etc.

This work has a commentary called *Samaya-pradīpa-jīrṇoddhāra*, written by Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura, (Mithila Cat. pp. 490-92).

(6) *Śuddhinirṇaya*— It is a handbook of dharmaśāstra on Śuddhi or purification when impurity is attained due to birth or death. The Maithilas had a special taste for Śuddhi as a topic of Smṛti and many of them wrote on Śuddhi. (See Mithila Cat. p. 433 and P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. i. p. 752).

(7) *Vratapaddhati* or *Vrata-sāra*–Dr. Peterson in his Ulwar Cat. p. 64 mentions a text named *Vrata-sāra* by Śrīdatta. The Mithila Cat. p. 401 mentions a *Vrata-paddhati* by Śrīdatta. But a look into the initial portions of the mss. notices will create the belief that *Vrata-paddhati* or *Vrata-sāra* is nothing but a different name of the *Samayapradīpa* or it might have been the name of a portion of that book. The verses-

श्रेयः समादिशतु सालसपक्ष्मपाते
निद्रायिते अपि दृशौ भृशमुन्मिषन्त्या etc. and
निबन्धेषु निबद्धानि वचनानि विचिन्वता ।
श्रीदत्तेन व्रतादीनां सारमाकृष्य लिख्यते ॥

are to be seen in all these works. In fact the line श्रीदत्तेन व्रतादीनां सारमाकृष्य लिख्यते used in the second introductory verse of the *Samayapradīpa* supplied the name *Vrata-sāra*.

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Śrīdatta left no information about himself. He has been regarded as a writer who influenced both the Gauḍīyas and the Maithilas. His date cannot be definitely ascertained, but this much is sure that he was earlier than Caṇḍeśvara as the latter has quoted from him. The period of Caṇḍeśvara's penmanship has been assigned from 1314 to 1330 A. D. Śrīdatta quoted one Gaṇeśvaramiśra in *Ācārādarśa*. Prof. P. V. Kane took him to be Gaṇeśvara Ṭhakkura, the uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, hence he fixed 1275 to 1310 as Śrīdatta's date, but this identification does not seem to be correct, for Gaṇeśvara has been always mentioned either with the honorific (Mantrin/Mahāmahattara etc.) or the family title (Ṭhakkura). This was an earlier Gaṇeśvaramiśra whose works are now lost to us. The late M. Chakravarty referred to him in J. A. S. B. 1915, pp. 378 ff. This unfortunate writer now survives in references only. In any case Gaṇeśvaramiśra quoted by Śrīdatta should not be confused with the uncle of Caṇḍeśvara. The fact shows that Śrīdatta was still earlier than Caṇḍeśvara. At the same time he must be later than 1200 A. D. as he has quoted from the works of Lakṣmīdhara. Considering this we would like to place Śrīdatta in a period ranging from 1250-1300 A. D.

Śrīdatta's influence on the Maithilas was second only to that of Lakṣmīdhara. It is suggested that a fresh and a thorough study of the works of Śrīdatta should be made to have a just assessment of him. It is further hoped that the honour due to him will be placed in proper place, the honour which is now wrongly enjoyed by Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati and others.

This Śrīdattopādhyāya is to be distinguished from Śrīdattamiśra, son of Nāgeśvara and the writer of *Ekāgnidāna-paddhati*, *Āvasathyādhāna-paddhati* and *Puraścaraṇa-paddhati*. He flourished in the second half of the 14th century A. D.

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A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTKAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Dr. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack.

The Hindu sovereignty in Orissa came to an end in A. D. 1568 soon after which it became a province of the Mogul empire. In 1751 A. D. the Moguls were ousted by the Marathas whose rule lasted until 1803 when the British conquered Orissa. During the Mogul, Maratha and British periods of Orissan history nearly all the coastal districts of Orissa were directly ruled by these powers, whereas the forest-clad highlands of western Orissa were governed by the feudatory chiefs, who acknowledging the suzerainty of these sovereign powers were practically autonomous in their own principalities. The Hindu sovereigns prior to 1568 and feudatory chiefs were great patrons of Sanskrit literature.

Owing to lack of adequate investigation, however, the connected history of Sanskrit literature in Orissa, especially in the earlier periods remains obscure. Further, our knowledge of Orissan Sanskrit literature prior to the rise of the imperial Gangas in the thirties of the twelfth century A. D. is meagre.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS: Epigraphy, however, has thrown considerable light on the development of Sanskrit literature in Orissa, especially in early times. Literary compositions embodied in palm-leaf manuscripts (by means of scratching the letters with an iron stylus on the leaves) are more liable to destruction than the lithic or metallic inscriptions. As such epigraphic materials written in Sanskrit have come down to us whereas contemporary literary Sanskrit compositions written on palm-leaves have been lost to us.

Numerous Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered in Orissa and in the neighbouring tracts relating to her history. The texts of most of these inscriptions have been published in different journals. But the edition of texts in some cases is not quite satisfactory and hence cannot be recognised as authentic.

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It has been contemplated to publish all these inscriptions in four volumes consisting of 10 parts on the whole and of these 10 parts, only part II[1] of Vol. I has been recently published. In this part, texts of fortynine inscriptions, arranged chronologically belonging to the following dynasties have been published :—

(1) The Matharas (320-570 A. D.) and Sri Ramakashyapas.

(2) The Stambheshvaripadabhaktas and the Nalas.

(3) The Vigraha (570-620), the Mandgals and other miscellaneous families.

(4) The Śailodbhavas (575-730)

Of these dynasties fifteen inscriptions of the Matharas have been published. They are short in length, consisting of compounds of medium length, but sometimes using Gaudi style.

Of the next five inscriptions of the Stambheshvari-padabhaktas three are written in prose and two in poetry. Of the latter one is written in ordinary śloka metre while the other namely, the Rajim stone inscription of Vilasatunga has been composed in 29 verses in elaborate metres, such as Śārdūlavikrīdita and Vasantatilaka.

We have eleven inscriptions of the Vigrahas, the Mandgals and other miscellaneous families, Of these inscriptions two are written in poetry in śloka metre and the rest in rhythmical prose.

We have also in this publication 15 epigraphs of the Śailodbhava kings. Many of them are written in beautiful verses. It appears from the Khurdha plates of king Madhavaraja that he was a poet and a patron of poets. The king is described as follows :—

स्वमतविरचितात्यद्भुतकाव्यार्थबोधनैककार्यः ।
संगृहीतविद्वद्विदग्धजनसमूहः ।

In the edicts of these Śailodbhavas there are about 44 panegyric verses written in elaborate metres which illustrate

(1) Inscriptions of Orissa (300-700 A. D.)— S. N. Rajaguru ; published by the Supdt. of Research & Museum, Govt. of Orissa, 1958.

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various figures of speech. Many of the inscriptions open with two verses one of which invokes Lord Śiva for the protection of the King (page 167 ibid.). In one of these charters Upendra Singha is known as the author (page 185 ibid.) of the Praśasti.

The Śailodbhavas were followed by the Bhaumakars, who ruled in Orissa from Medinipur to Ganjam in the 8th and 9th centuries. Fourteen inscriptions of the Bhauma family have been edited by scholars. Pandit Binayaka Mishra[2] compiled these 14 Sanskrit inscriptions written in a charming style. For example—

उद्यानेषु शिलीमुखावलिरहो हारेषु मुक्तास्थिति-
दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेष्वसद्द्वेषता ।
राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः कुमणिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं
कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि ॥

Prof. Sylvan Levi has brought to light an interesting fact of cultural relationship of the Bhauma age. According to him the emperor of China received as present the autograph manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the last section of the *Buddhāvataṁsa* from Śubhakar Kesari, the Bhauma and Kara king of Orissa. The work is written in Sanskrit.

After the Bhaumakaras, the Somavaṁśi kings of Kosala became very powerful in Orissa. Their Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered in Western Orissa as well as in the coastal districts of Cuttack and Puri. We have also many Sanskrit inscriptions written in Kavya style of various local dynasties such as the Bhanjas, the Sulkis, the Tungas and the Nandas.

The eastern Gangas of the southern parts of Orissa and the imperial Gangas (from about 1120 A. D. to 1434 A.D.) have left us large number of Sanskrit inscriptions which have been found in different districts of Orissa, and Andhradeśa. As an instance of ornate Kavya style in which these panegyrics are composed we can look at the Chatesvara temple inscription[3]; up to the beginning of

(2) Orissa under the Bhauma Kings by Pt. Binayaka Mishra, Calcutta, 1934.

(3) Vishvakosha (Beng.) Vol. 6. Page 229.

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1957, ten copper plate inscriptions of the Imperial Gangas were noticed. The total number of verses written in different metres in these 'praśastis' is 159[4].

Next we come to the period of the Sūryavaṁśi kings of Orissa (1434-1540). The Sanskrit inscriptions of these sovereigns have been discovered in Orissa and in large tracks of Andhradesa. Their inscriptions have been edited in various journals of Orissa. A large number of their Sanskrit inscriptions have been published in South Indian inscriptions (text) vol. 10 written in Telugu script published by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1948.

A few verses from the Gopinathpur (Cuttack district) temple inscription of the king Kapileśvaradeva may be cited in this connection. He is described thus :

कर्णाटोज्जासंसिंहः कलवरगजयी मालवध्वंसलीला-
जङ्घालो गौडमर्दी भ्रवरवरनृपो ध्वस्तदिल्लीन्द्रगर्वः

His priest is thus described.

तस्यासहंसः स हि हंसवंशकेतोः पुरोधा मखकृद्धतंसः।
विद्वान् महापात्रकुलावतंसः श्रीलक्षणोऽयं प्रथितप्रशंसः॥

Then follows the description of the priest's son.

मन्त्रिश्रेणिशिरोमणिः सुमनसां सन्तानचिन्तामणिः
पापव्रातविषौघगारुडमणिः सद्वृत्तरक्षामणिः।
पद्मोल्लासविलासवासरमणिः पुत्रोऽस्य नारायणः
सत्यारम्भपरायणोऽजनि जनत्राणाय नारायणः॥

After this brief survey of Sanskrit epigraphs of Orissa we shall just barely touch the Sanskrit literature of Orissa in some of its aspects. It should be noted here that of the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the Orissa Museum only a descriptive catalogue of the Smṛti manuscripts has been published. The

(4) Vide Orissa Hist. Research Journal, Vol. V. Nos. I & II p. 102.

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No. 2 in this series (now published) describing Kāvya-Alaṅkāra-Saṅgīta throws a flood of light on Orissa Sanskrit literature[5].

SANSKRIT EPIC POETRY

In the field of Sanskrit epic literature the following deserve our attention.

1. *Sahṛdayānanda* of Kṛṣṇānanda (published by Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay) dated end of 14th century during the reign of Narasingh IV. This book depicts the life of Nala from his birth upto the recovery of his kingdom. The poet has sometimes deviated from the Nala episode in the *Mahābhārata*. The author shows an elegant style in this work.

2. *Bhakti Bhāgavata* of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva of the reign of Pratāparudra Gajapati. The poet composed this kāvya when he was staying with his patron Pratāparudra on the banks of the Godāvarī river in the 17th Aṅka year of the king at the age of 35. This book deals with the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa from a devotional point of view.

3. *Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvya* by Kavi Chandra Divākara Miśra of the 15th century.

It contains 40 cantos and depicts partly the story of the Mahābhārata. The poet was patronised by Pratāparudra Deva as well as by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-1529), the emperor of Vijayanagar.

4. *Daśagrīvavadha Mahākāvya* by Mārkaṇḍa Miśra of the 16th century--patronised by Mukunda Deva--the last Hindu Emperor of Orissa, narrates the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in an attractive style and with lofty ideas.

5. *Sulocanā Mādhava* by Braja Sundara depicts the love of Sulocanā with Mādhava-the plot being of a fictitious character.

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(5) (i) Vol. I. Smṛti manuscripts edited by Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra 1958, Bhubaneshwar.

(ii) Vol. II. Kāvya-Alaṅkāra-Saṅgīta Mss. Ed. by K. Mahapatra and published by S. Akademi, Bhubaneshwar, 1960.

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6. *Kośalānanda Mahākāvya*, of Gaṅgādhara Miśra was composed in 1612 A. D. It is a chronicle of the Chauhan Kings of Western Orissa whose capital was at Patna, now in Balangir district. The author successfully imitates the style of Māgha. The poem consists of 22 cantos of which the first 21 cantos were written by our poet and the last one by one Gaṅgādhara Guru.

7. *Nāgeśagotravaṁśānucaritam* written by Vairāgi Pattayosi sketches the history of the rulers of Khurda and those of their agnates at Pattia and Rodanga after Orissa lost its independence in 1568.

8. *Gaṅgavaṁśānucarita* by Vāsu Deva Ratha depicts in both prose and poetry the history of Gaṅga monarchs in Orissa sometimes inaccurately and brings down the history upto the end of the 15th century. It appears to be a late work, perhaps of the 17th century.

Of the epics during the British period the following deserve mention :—

(1) *Rukmiṇī Pariṇaya* by Viśvanatha Varma--ruling Chief of Athagarh.

(2) *Lakṣmaṇa Pariṇaya* of Bhubaneshwara Ratha Sharma.

(3) *Jayapura Rājavaṁśāvali* by Śri Ramanatha Nanda.

It is worth mentioning that a number of Sanskrit Kavyas such as *Narasiṁha Vijaya and Rāghava Vilāsa* by Viswanath Kaviraja, author of *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* of Orissa have not yet come to light. Of very many Campū Kāvyas the *Guṇḍicha Campū* by Cakrapāṇi Pattanayak is worth mentioning.

SANSKRIT DRAMATIC LITERATURE

Of the plays technically called—Nāṭikā in Sanskrit dramaturgy Viśvānatha Kavirāja wrote *Prabhāvatī Nāṭikā* and *Candrakalā Nāṭikā*. Of these *Candrakalā* has been published[6]. The above mentioned Jīvadeva wrote one Nāṭaka called *Utsāhavatī* and a Nāṭikā entitled *Pīyūṣa Laharī* which have been published.

(6) Vide Orissa Hist. Research Journal, Vol. VI, 1957, Pts. I & II

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Bhaktivaibhava is another drama of this author, which is allegorical in nature like *Prabodha Candrodaya* (vide Kalinga Historical Research Society Journal Vol. I. No. 4, 1947). *Abhirāmamaṇi* by Sundara Miśra dramatises the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Nīlādricandrodaya* by Vīra Rāghavācharya of Puri mentions in its prologue the name of Mukunda Deva, King of Orissa. It has been printed in Conjeevaram[7].

Madhurāniruddham by Chayani Chandrashekhara Rajaguru deals with the marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha. He praises king Ramacandra, the founder of the line of later Khurda kings (16th Century).

Jagannātha Vallabha Nāṭaka by Ramananda Ray, the Governor of Pratāparudra Gajapati, depicts in 5 Acts, the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The Nāṭikā *Maṇimālā* by Anādi Kavi deals with the fictitious theme of the marriage of Maṇimālā, the Princess of Puṣkaradvīpa with the Prince of Ujjayini. The poet was patronised by Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja, a minister of Padmanābha Deva of Khimundi of the first quarter of the 18th century. The so-called drama *Bhañja Mahodaya* by Nīlakaṇṭha Kavi depicts the dynasty of the ruling Chiefs of Keonjhar. Another play entitled *Śaivanārāyaṇa Bhañja Mahodaya* was written by Narasiṁha in honour of a Prince of Keonjhar[8]. Of the larger number of smaller plays mention may be made of *Abhinava Veṇīsaṁhārā* and *Paraśurāma Vyāyoga* composed by Puruṣottama Gajapati and his father Kapileswar Gajapati respectively.

POETICS

In this branch the following need mention.

(1) *Ekāvalī* by Vidyādhara—This is on literatry criticism. All the illustrative verses in this are written by the author in praise of his patron, the Gaṅga Emperor, Narasiṁha Deva. It has been commented upon by Mallinātha.

(2) *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* by Viśvanātha Kavirāja—The poet was patronised by the Gaṅga emperors; his work is an exhaustive

(7) Vide History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishnamachariar, Section 782.

(8) Sanskrit Drama, Keith p. 275.

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treatise on poetics dealing also with dramaturgy. This work refers to a large number of other literary works including those of his father and grandfather that have not come down to us.

(3) *Rasavallī* by Narahari Miśra may be looked upon as an elaboration of the doctrine of Rasa contained in the IIIrd Chapter of *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*.

(4) *Kavicintāmaṇi* by Gopinātha Kavibhūṣaṇa is encyclopaedic in nature. It contains a large number of Subhāṣitas. The poet was patronised by Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, a ruler of Khimundi. It consists of 25 chapters.

(5) *Rasakalpadruma* by Jagannātha Miśra (Circa 1725 A.D.) is a mine of information regarding 'Sāhitya' and 'Saṅgīta' containing a large number of Subhāṣitas.

COMMENTARIES

Orissa has produced many illustrious scholars who have commented on the celebrated Sanskrit epics. Of such comments mention may be made of the *Brahma Prakāśikā Ṭīkā* of *Meghadūta* by Narahari Miśra which interprets the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa with such skill and scholarship as to make it applicable to the description of the Guṇḍicha festival of Śrī Jagannāth.

Art and Technical literature: Of works on metrics mention may be made of *Vāṅmaya Viveka* by Cintāmaṇi Miśra.

Of works on astronomy *Bhāsvatī* by Śatānanda of the pre-Gaṅga period and *Siddhānta Darpaṇa* by Chandrashekhara Singha Sāmanta at the beginning of the twentieth century are notable.

Of works on music and nāṭya—*Manoramā* by Raghunath Rath in the 1st quarter of the 18th century (patronised by the King of Kerala) deserves our attention.

A large number of other Sanskrit works have also been dealt with by the present writer in his unpublished work entitled "The contribution of Orissa to Sanskrit literature" written in Oriya.

Sri K. N. Mahapatra has written various articles on many Sanskrit poets of Orissa in the pages of the Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society. Some of them have not been mentioned in this sketch of Sanskrit literature of Orissa.

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SECTION VI : PĀLI AND BUDDHISM

President : Bhikku J. Kashyap

1. Doublets in Pāli

   Prof. Madhusudan Mallik

2. Vedic Brahmanism in the *Samyutta Nikāya*

   G. Sitaramiah

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DOUBLETS IN PĀLI

Prof. Madhusudan Mallik, Santiniketan

Pāli is not a homogeneous language. In it are found numerous double forms which show it to be a compromise of several dialects. The double forms exist in all the stages of development of Pāli.

No single factor is responsible for these double forms. Sometimes orthography, sometimes metrical necessities, sometimes dialectal mixtures, sometimes phonetic corruptions, sometimes some others, contribute to the development of these double forms.

Double forms are very frequent in words containing a liquid or a nasal (l : r : n), the one resulting in diaeresis and the other in contractions (mostly assimilations). Thus we have from Skt. *abhikṣṇa* the diaeretic *abhikkhana* 'digging up of the ground' (M. i. 143) and the contracted form *abhiṇha* 'repeatedly, continuous' (M. i. 442); from Vedic *ārya* we have diae. *ariya* 'Aryan' (D. ii. 87), and the form *ayyo* (J. iii.167); from Skt. *aśman* we have the diae. *asama* 'stone, rock' (DA. i. 270) and cont. *amha* 'a stone' (Sn. 443); from Skt. *ātman*, the diae. *ātuman* 'self' (Sn. 782) and the cont. *atten* 'self' (Dn. 379); from Skt. *uṣman*, the diae. *usma* 'heat' (J. i. 31) and the direct equivalent *usmā* (M. i. 295); from Skt. *pakṣman* the diae. *pakhuma* 'an eyelash' (J. v. 216), the cont. *paṁha* (J. v. 215); from Skt. *bhogya*, the diae. *bhogiya* 'having wealth or power', identical with *bhogika* and the cont. *bhoggya* 'to be enjoyed' (J. ii. 370); from Skt. *smita* the diae. *mihita* 'a smile' (J. iii. 419), the stages being **hmita* **mhita* and the Sanskritised form *smita*; from Skt. *hrada* the metathetic and diae. *rahada* 'a lake' (D. i. 50) through **harada* and the other metathetic *daha* (J. i. 50); from Skt. *rathyā* 'belonging to the chariot', later Skt. *rathyā* 'road', we have diae. *rathiyā* 'a carriage road' (Vin. i. 237) and contracted *racchā* (Vin. ii. 194); from Skt. *śleṣman* the diae. *silesuma* 'phlegm' (Vin. ii. 137) and the cont. *semha* (Pv. ii. 2); from Skt. *svapna*,

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the diae. *supina* 'a dream, a vision' (Sn. 360) and the cont. *soppa* (S. i. 110).

Orthographically Sanskrit '*kṣ*' is sometimes represented either by *kkh* or *kh*, both spelling occurring promiscuously, a tendency towards '*kh*' prevailing in *apekhā* 'affection for, attention, regard' from Skt. *apekṣā*, cf. *apekkhā*; *upekhā* 'indifference, hedonic neutrality', cf. *upekkhā* from Skt. *upekṣā*; *sekha* one who has not yet attained Arhatship, cf. Skt. *śaikṣa*.

From Indo-European variety

In certain cases the forms of Pāli seem to be more archaic than those of Sanskrit. Thus in *garu* 'heavy' (J. 1. 196), as opposed to Skt. *guru* the '*a*' vowel of Pāli is more archaic and goes back to the I. E. period, cf. Gr. *barus*, Lat. *gravis*, Goth. *kaurus*. In Pāli *idha* 'in this world, here' (Sn. 1038) as opposed to Skt. *iha*, the *dh* is more archaic and reflects an I. E. prototype. We have in Pāli *agaru* 'not heavy' only in phrase *sace te agaru* 'if it does not inconvenience you, if you do not mind' (Vin. 1. 125) cf. B. Skt. *yadi te aguru* (Av. s. 1. 194). Words like *kilañja* 'mat' (M. 1. 228) as opposed to *kiliñja*, *mucalinda* 'name of a tree' (Vin. 1. 3) as opposed to *mucilinda* etc., belong to this category.

Phonetic Changes within the Basic dialect

Due to change in phonetics within the basic dialect we see the origin of certain double forms. Thus *nekkha* 'gold ornament' (Sn. 689) beside *nikkha* (Vin. i. 38), Skt. *niṣka*.

Due to tendency towards Sanskritism

A tendency to preserve Sanskrit forms is sometimes noticed in the following instead of the usual rules of phonetic changes (like assimilation etc.), a tendency to conserve the conjuncts are met with. Thus *tatra* 'there' (Vin. i. 10) beside *tattha* (Th. i. 103), Skt. *tatra*; *bhadra* 'happy' (S. i. 117) beside *bhadda* (D. ii. 95), Skt. *bhadra*; *Citrakamma* 'decoration, painting' (J. iv. 408), *citta* 'variegated' (Dh. 171), Skt. *citra*; *yattha* (adv.), the regular Pāli form of Vedic *yatra*, rel. adv. of place 'where', *yatra*, a reconstructed form and used to mark a special meaning in Pāli.

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Of dialectal origin

From Skt. *ārdra* we have the usual *adda* 'wet, moist' (J. vi. 309), the dialectal *adda* (M. iii. 94); Vedic *ṛkṣa* gave rise to usual *accha* 'bear' (J. v. 197), the dialectal *ikka* (J. vi. 538); the usual formation from Skt. *ājnā* is *āññā* 'knowledge' (M. i. 445) and the dialectal *āṇā* 'order, command' (J. i. 433); from Epic Sanskrit we have *śākam* 'vegetable, green food, eatable herb' (J. iii. 225) and the dialectal *ḍākam* (Vin. i. 246); for the change of *ś* to *ḍ* cf. Skt. *śākinī*, Pāli *ḍākinī*.

Difference of meaning with distinctive forms

From Skt. *kṣaṇa* we have the usual *khaṇa* 'moment', (J. iv. 128), and *chaṇa* 'festival' (J. i. 423); from Skt. *kṣamā* we have *khamā* 'patience' (J. iv. 8) and *chamā* 'earth' (J. iii. 232), *aṭṭa* 'law suit, case' (J. ii. 2), *attha* 'interest, profit' (M. i. 111), Skt. *artha*; *vaṭṭati* 'to behove, to be right' (J. i. 188), *vattati* 'to turn round, to move' (Sn. 654), Skt. *vartate*; *pabhavati* 'to arise' (Sn. 728), *pahoti* 'to suffice' (M. i. 94), Skt. *prabhavati*.

Interchange of Y and V

āyudha, 'weapon' (D. i. 9), is the Vedic form of the common Pāli form *āvudha* (J. 1. 150); *kasāyā* and *kasāva*, the late Vedic form *kasāya* 'a decoction, essence', the old Pāli form is *kasāva* 'a kind of paste or gum used in colouring walls' (Vin.ii.151); in compounds both forms occur; *dāya* 'wood, jungle, forest, grove', *dāva* (J. i. 213), Skt. *dāva* 'conflagration of a forest'.

From anaptyxis

Tikhina 'sharp, pointed' (J. v. 264), *tikkha* (Nd. 235), Skt. *tīkṣṇa*; *pakhuma* 'an eyelash' (J. v. 216), *paṁha* (J. v. 215), Skt. *pakṣman*; *pāpunāti* 'attains' (J. iv. 285), *pappoti* (S. i. 25), Skt. *prāpnoti*; *ariya* 'noble' (J. i. 32), *ayyo* (J. iii. 167), Skt. *ārya*; *sve* 'yesterday' (J. i. 32), *suve* (Mhvs. 29), Skt. *śvah*; *sumarati* 'remembers' (Dh. 324), *sarati* (J. ii. 29), Skt. *smarati*; *suvatthi*, 'welfare' (S. iv. 32), *sotthi* (J. i. 335), Skt. *svasti*; *sineha* 'viscous liquid' (J. 1.108), *sneha* (J. iv. 11), Skt. *sneha*; *sināna* 'bathing' (M. i. 39), *nahāna* (Vin. i. 47), Skt. *snāna*.

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From two dialects

gathita 'fettered, tied' (J. iv. 371), *gadhita* (Vd. 75), Skt. *grathita; gantha* 'bond, a fetter, (Sn. 347), often *gandha*; *palikha* 'a bar' (J. vi. 276 with *paligha* as gloss), *paligha* 'a cross bar (J. ii. 95); *chakala* 'a he-goat' (J. vi. 237), *chagala*, cf. Skt. *chāgala*, from *chāga* 'heifer'; *nija* 'one's own' (Davs. ii. 68), *niya* (Sn. 149); *pana* 'but, on the contrary' (J. i. 222), *puna* 'again' (J.i. 403).

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VEDIC BRAHMANISM IN THE *SAṀYUTTA NIKĀYA*

G. Sitaramiah, M.A., MYSORE

Scholars interested in understanding the "*Saddhamma*" of the Buddha in its pristine purity go to the Canonical texts. Even the commentators are unwelcome to the critical enquirer in his search for the very first, unambiguos utterances of the Master, as none of them ever wrote in the life time of the great teacher.

The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* is the third great collection of *Suttas* belonging to *Sutta Piṭaka*. Here is presented a "Connected" exposition of *Dhamma*. It is clear that there is some sort of plan in the compilation of this sacred text. Chronologically, this compilation is considered later than such texts as the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* and some portions of the *Sutta Nipāta*. But an ardent student of Buddhism will find in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* a discussion of doctrinal topics and also a clear attempt at the analysis of *Dhamma*. The famous *Dhammacakka Pavattana Sūtra*[1] finds its place in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*. These considerations will show that the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* will help us a good deal in understanding Early Buddhism in all its aspects.

In this paper an attempt is made to understand the attitude of the Exalted one towards Vedic Brahmanism, as found in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*.

The seventh *saṁyutta* in the *Sagāthavagga* is called the *Brāhmana Saṁyutta*. It is most appropriately named as it deals with the Lord's observations on Brāhmanas as a Varṇa. All the Brāhmanas mentioned here are those who followed the rituals as ordained in the Vedas. It is pointed out most clearly in these *Suttas* that Brahmanas of renowned families came in contact with the Buddha and were convinced about the "way" pointed out to them and

1. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* V Sacca Saṁyutta 12.

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were converted to his faith. Most of these persons who changed their faiths got their "Arahantship" also. Most of the persons who figure in these Suttas belong to Bharadvāja Gotra. They are all called Bhāradvājas. Obviously the Bhāradvājas were well-known for their knowledge of the sacrificial cult and Vedic learning during the life of the Buddha. Bhāradvāja Gotra is as old as the Veda itself. Apart from the Gotra, the names also are worthy of study. Some of these names are Ahiṁsaka, Jaṭā, Suddhika, Aggika, Sundarika, Kasi, Udaya, Manatthaddho, Nava Kammika Bhikkhako and Saṅgāravo. It is clear that these names do not look like those of Vedic Ṛṣis. Even according to Buddhist tradition these are not real names but those that indicate some personal characteristics. People knew them by those characteristics and these names only survived and they have been preserved in the sacred texts. Perhaps Jaṭā Bharadvāja was known so either because of his questions or he wore a *Jaṭā*. Aggika maintained holy fire and performed *Agnihotra*. Suddhika regarded Vedic - lore as a purifying factor. Akkoso was known for his reviling epithets. Buddhaghoṣa, however is silent about some names.

In this connection we might make mention of Dhanañjānī Brāhmaṇī[2]. Her story shows that ladies of great brahmin families were earlier converts to the Buddha's faith. Dhanañjāni's husband a Bhāradvāja, got wild when his wife (of Ukkaṭṭha Gottā) uttered the "Udāna" in the presence of invited guests. The guests ran away spitting out the food, owing to the presence of a heretic. This Bhāradvāja wanted to challenge and give a bit of his mind to that "Muṇḍaka Samaṇa". He presents a kind of a dilemma to the Lord, to catch him :—

Kimsu chetva sukham seti[3]
Kimsu chetva na socati
Kissassa ekadhammassa
Vadham rocesi Gotama ti

The Exalted One was a *kovido*. He was able to know what was going on in the mind of this brahmin. Hence he gave the most suitable reply.

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2. The Book of Kindred Sayings I, p. 199.
3. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, VII. i.

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Kodham chetva sukham seti
Kodham chetva na socati
Kodhassa visamūlassa
Madhuraggassa brāhmana
Vadham ariyā pasamsanti
Tam hi chetva na socati [4]

This sermon in *gāthā* form went home to the Bhāradvāja. He was initiated into the order.

Akkoso,[5] inspite of his reviling epithets was treated most kindly and was instructed in the typical Socratic way by the Buddha. This shows opposition to the Buddha, but it yielded quickly before the profound words, moral stature and maganetism of the Exalted One. He that does not return the abuse, when abused, is considered a physician healing himself and the other one. "Akkodhassa kuto kodho ?" asks the Buddha, when accused of being angry.

Ahiṁsaka[6] is instructed that one should be true of his name.

"yo ca kāyena vācāya manasā ca na hiṁsati"

Sa ve Ahiṁsako hoti"[7]

Ahiṁsā is a great ethical principle, repeatedly praised in Buddhist texts.

Suddhika[8] is made to understand that supreme purity lies neither in jabbering multitudes of runes nor "birth".

"Bahum pi palapam jappam"

"Na Jaccā hoti Brāhmano".

Everyone, whether he be a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra or even a Caṇḍāla can attain supreme purity (pappoti paramam suddhim) only if he puts forth efforts with all his strength and advances in the right direction. The Buddha, we should remember, maintained this position emphatically.

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4. *Dhanañjānī Sutta* : *Saṁyutta Nikāya.* VII. 1.
5. *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* VII. 2.
6. Ibid VII. 5.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. VII. 7.

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Aggika's [9] episode shows that the Buddha approved of charity as productive of Puṇya. "*Saṭpātradāna*" is a thing wholly approved in Brahmanical texts too. [10] Sundarika, when he asked the Lord about his caste got the reply which is oft-quoted.[11]

"Mā Jātim puccha caraṇam ca puccha"

"Kaṭṭhā have jāyati Jātavedo"

"Birth is no worth but conduct is everything".

Sundarika's offer of "*havyaśeṣa*" was rejected with the statement.

"Gāthābhigītam panudanti Buddhā"
"Buddhas reject wages for chanting verses" [12]

Mere wood-laying would bring only external purity. [13] None is ever made pure by these. The Buddha considers himself burning a fire within, kindling it. The holy life too is worked out (Brahmacariyam Carāmi).

Saṅgārava[14] is made to know that bathing too is for external purity only. One should not make much of it. It is Norm's lake which will make us clean of limb and help us to cross over to the Beyond.

The *Kosala Saṁyutta* records that there were recluses and Brahmins like Pūrāna Kassapa and Kaccāyana who had their order of disciples and followers. Some of them were theorisers too (yasassino titthakarā). Even these did not lay claim to perfect and supreme enlightenment. But the Exalted one was sure of his 'way' and Enlightenment. He was ready to point out the right path to everyone who sought it. When king Pasenadi of Kosala asked the Buddha whether the 7 ascetics and 7 recluses

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9. Ibid. 8.
10. Cf. *Bhagavadgītā*: XVII. 20.
    Śaṅkara: "Deyam dīnajanāya ca vittam"
11. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* VII. a
12. The Book of the kindred sayings I. p. 208.
13. *Saṁyutta Nikāyā* VII. 9.
14. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* VII. 11.

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etc., who passed by them were Arahants, the Buddha points out that by external appearance one cannot make out the nature of a person. It is by living together that one can learn another's moral character. "Saṁvāsena sīlam veditabbam."[15] There may also be people who are handsome outwardly and are impure within. "Anto asuddhā bahi sobhamānā". As a matter of fact the persons pointed out by Pasenadi were his spies, who looked like great sages. In that context the Buddha remarks that internal purity is the "*sine qua non*" of holy life.

Now about the Buddha's attitude towards the animal sacrifices. The *Yañña-Sutta*[16] mentions preparations for a great sacrifice to be performed by king Pasenadi. This sacrifice involved the killing of 500 bulls, 500 bullocks, heifers, goats and rams etc. The menials and craftsmen who made the preparations were weeping. This description appears to be an exaggeration since no Śrauta text mentions the necessity of such vast killings. The Buddha who is a "Paramakāruṇika" would not approve of any killing. He says :

"Assamedham, Purisamedham"

"Sammāpāsam Vājapeyyam"

"Niraggalam mahārambhā"

"Na te honti Mahapphalā"[17]

But sacrifice involving no killing is approved. The Buddha says :

"Etam yajetha Medhāvī"

"Etam sammaggatā yaññam"[18]

"Upayanti mahesino"

"Pasīdanti ca Devatā"

Some Vedic gods also appear in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*. Even these, come at the proper hour, for instruction from the Exalted One. Of these gods Brahmā and Sakka deserve special mention.

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15. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* III. 1. 11.
16. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* III. 9.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

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When the Buddha was reflecting whether he should make known the *Dhamma* which he had won after many a toil, it was Brahmā—Sahampati, who, in all humility makes the request.

"Desetu Bhante Bhagavā Dhammam"

"Desetu Sugato Dhammam" [19]

Brahmā's entreaty was fruitful. Out of pity towards all beings the Buddha surveyed the whole world with the "*Buddha-cakkhu*" and decided to proclaim the Norm.

Sakka is another Vedic god who is mentioned in a number of *Suttas*. He is pictured as having attained his celestial position by his good life. [20] "Sakko Devānāmindo Sakam Puññaphalam Upajīvamāno" etc. Sakka, gives a moral lesson to the Tāyatimsa gods in the *Dubbaṇṇiya Sutta*.

There are many more utterances of the Buddha in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* which reveal his attitude towards Vedic Brahmanism. It is difficult to put all those points into a short paper. The statements that have been culled out so far give us a clear picture of the noble figure who would correct without malice, show the "way" without pride, and enable us to live the holy life with proper sense of values.

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19. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* V1. 1. 1.
20. *Sakka Saṁyutta* XI. 2.

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SECTION VII: PRAKRITS AND JAINISM

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THE JAIN AND THE SAHAJAYĀNA SCHOOLS OF YOGA PHILOSOPHY

Dr. H. L. Jain, Jabalpur

What we now understand by the word '*Yoga*' is a special kind of spiritual discipline leading to the supreme bliss. But this meaning has come to be attached to the word by a gradual process of thought-development. The root from which the word *Yoga* is derived is '*Yuj*'-to join and so the original meaning of *Yoga* is conjunction or union, of course, of physical objects. This is the sense in which the word is found used in the Vedas.[1]

The next development in the meaning of the word *Yoga* is found in the Jaina Karma Philosophy propounded by Lord Mahāvīra (in 6th cent. B.C.) where it means "all kinds of physical, vocal or mental activity which leads to the inflow of Karmic matter into the soul and causes merit or demerit according to the activity being holy or unholy."[2] There is also the word '*Upayoga*' used in Jaina Philosophy conveying the sense of 'Spiritual activity' in the form of consciousness and knowledge.[3]

It is at the third stage of its development that the word *Yoga* acquires the meaning of that mental state at which "the five senses along with the mind stand still and the intellect also does not operate. This firm restraint of the senses is called the Supreme approach."[4] This Upaniṣadic idea was consolidated as a regular

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1. *Ṛg Veda* I, 5, 3; I, 18, 7 etc.
2. काय-वाङ्-मनः-कर्म योगः। स आस्रवः। शुभः पुण्यस्य, अशुभः पापस्य। (तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ६, १-३)
3. जीवो उवओग-मओ उवओगो णाण-दंसणो होइ। (कुंदकुंदः, णियमसार१०)
4. यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह।
   बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टति तामाहुः परमां गतिम्॥
   तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम्।
   अप्रमत्तस्तदा भवति योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययौ॥ (कठोपनिषद् २, ६, १०-११)
   Further details of this kind of *yoga* are found in

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philosophical system of physical and mental discipline by Sage Patañjali in his *Yoga Sūtra*. This work became the basis of a very rich development of thought on the subject of which a very informative review has been given by Pandit Sukhlalji in his article '*Yoga Vidyā*.'[5]

Patañjali, following the lead of the Upaniṣads, defines '*yoga*' as 'Restraint of mental activity.'[6] Although this meaning of *Yoga* is not identical with what we find in the earlier Jaina Philosophy, there is no doubt that Patañjali has drawn richly upon the Jaina system of spiritual purification and *Dhyāna*. This is also evident from no less than about twenty terms used by Patañjali and his earliest commentator Vyāsa which are peculiarly Jain and are not sufficiently intelligible without consultation of Jain works.'[7]

The first Jain writer who imported and integrated this new meaning of *Yoga* into Jaina Philosophy is found to be Kundakunda who in his work called '*Mokṣa-Pāhuḍa*' has given in a nutshell practically all the ideas that subsequently formed the Jaina system of Yoga. Now, "according to the opinion of Jinavara, a *Yogi* concentrates upon his pure self and thereby attains *Nirvāṇa*, to say nothing of the heavenly world."[8] He defines *Yogi* as "one who absorbs in himself; restrains all impurity; destroys the accumulated *Karmas*, acquires the knowledge imparted by Jinadeva,

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Śvetāśvataropaniṣad chapter II and many other subsequent Upaniṣads as also the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

5. दर्शन और चिन्तन, खंड २. पृ. २३० आदि।

6. योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः (योगसूत्र १, २)

7. Pt. Sukhlal: Yoga Vidya (in Darshana aur cintana II. p. 259).

8. जिणवर-मएण जोई झाणे झाएइ सुद्धमप्पाणं।
जेण लटइ णिव्वाणं ण लहइ किं तेण सुरलोयं॥
सग्गं तवेण सव्वो वि पावेइ किं तु झाण जोएणं।
जो पावइ सो पावइ परलोए सासयं सोक्खं॥
झायंतो अप्पाणं परम-पयं पावए जोई॥
(कुंदकुंदः, मोक्षपाहुड, २०, २३, ४७)

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shakes off all sin, becomes pure and attains *Nirvāṇa.*"[9] Henceforth the Jaina conception of *Yoga* is that mental and spiritual activity which purifies the self and leads to *Nirvāṇa.*

Numerous Jaina writers have since expanded the ideas and built up a rich system of *Yoga* parallel to that propounded in the Patañjali School. The main works in the Jaina system are the *Iṣṭopadeśa* and *Samādhi-Śataka* of Pūjyapāda (6th cent.); *Yogabindu, Yoga-dṛṣṭi-samuccaya* and other works of Haribhadra (8th cent.); *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra (12th cent.). Of these the contributions of Haribhadra are very substantial. He reconciles the earlier meaning of *Yoga* with the later one by declaring that "the cessation of *Yogas* (i.e. mental, vocal and physical activities) is said to be the highest *Yoga*, because by its capacity to bring Salvation, it is characterized by all kinds of abandonment".[10] "It is called Yoga (i.e. union) because it unites one with Salvation."[11] Now "there is no doubt that a Yogi is one who assumes the pose of controlled breath, fixed eyes and all activity abandoned."[12]

I now wish to draw the attention of those interested in this study, to a few Jaina works which reveal an influence upon them of certatin esoteric thoughts and practices which developed in some Buddhist Schools of monachism from the 8th to the 12th centuries A.D.

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9. जोई जोयत्थो जोयए अप्पा ॥
सव्वासव - णिरोहेण कम्मं खवइ संचियं ।
जोयत्थो जाणए जोई जिणदेवेण भासियं ॥
जो झायदि सो जोई पावहरो हवदि णिद्दंदो ॥
सो होदि हु सुचरित्तो जोई सो लहइ णिव्वाणं ॥
(कुंदकुंदः. मोक्षपाहुड, २८, ३०, ८३, ८४)

10. अतस्त्यागो योगानां योगः पर उदाहृतः ।
मोक्ष-योजन-भावेन सर्व-सन्यास-लक्षणः ॥ (यो. द. स. २२)

11. मोक्षेण योजनाद् योगः । (योगबिन्दु ३१)

12. णिज्जिय-सासो णिप्फंद-लोयणो मुक्क-सयल-वावारो ।
एयाइं अवत्थ गओ सो जोयउ णत्थि संदेहो ॥ (पाहुडदोहा २०३)

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A great upheaval was brought about by Nāgārjuna (2nd cent.) by his Buddhist Mahāyāna Philosophy of *Śūnyavāda*, which contained germs of a negative as well as positive understanding of reality.[13] We find both of these aspects developed in various ways by the followers of the School. In its wake there grew up the *Mantra-yāna* and *Vajra-yāna* schools, and about the 8th century a number of Buddhist saints, called *Siddhas* preached what they called the *Sahaja-yāna*, as they claimed it to be the easy and sure vehicle for reaching *Nirvāṇa*. The *Siddhas* who preached this path were 84 according to the tradition preserved in Tibet, and numerous works by them are preserved in translation in the Tibetan collection called Tanjur.[14] Unfortunately only a few of these works have been preserved and published so far in their original form. But even these few works are very important for their bearing upon the evolution of the Neo-Indo-Aryan forms of language and literature as well as for the light they throw upon the subsequent development of monastic Sects and their idealogies, such as the Gorakh-nathi panth, Kabir panth, Dadu panths and the like.

The works that are just before me for a comparative study are mainly the *Dohākośas* of the *Sahajayāni* Saints Tillo, Saraha, Kanha and many others,[15] and the Jaina works 1) *Pāhuḍadohā*[16]

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13. शून्यमिति न वक्तव्यमशून्यमिति वा भवेत् ।
उभयं नोभयं चेति प्रज्ञप्त्यर्थं तु कथ्यते ॥

14. राहुल सांकृत्यायनः, वज्रयान और चौरासी सिद्ध ।
(पुरातत्त्व निबन्धावली, प्रयाग, 1937)

15. i. Les chants Mystiques de Kanha et de Sarah edited by M. Shahidullah (Paris. 1918)
ii. *Dohākośa* Part I. edited by P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta Sanskrit series, no. 25c, 1938).
iii. *Dohākośa*, Sarahapādakṛta, edited by Rahula Sanskrityayana (Bihar Rastrabhasa Parishad, Patna, 1957).
iv. *Puratattva – Nibandhāvali* by R. Sankrtyayana (Indian Press, Prayag, 1937).

16. *Pāhuḍa-dohā* edited by H. L. Jain (Karanjia Jain Series No. 3, 1933).

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2) *Yoga-Pradīpa*[17] and 3) *Dhyāna-vicāra*[18]. While editing the first of these works namely *Pāhuḍadohā* I was struck with the ideas and the terms used there, and I wrote a short note on the subject in the introduction of that work (pp. 17-18) drawing attention to the occurrence of words like *Śīva* and *Śakti*, *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa*, *Ravi*, *Śaśi* and *Pavana* etc. and their relation to similar terms in the Tantric and Buddhist works. With the new material now before me I make bold to make a brief survey of the common terminology in the Buddhist and the Jaina works.

1. *ŚŪNYA*

Taking their start from the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist Siddhas declare *Śūnya* or *Śūnya-Nirañjana* as the highest truth.[19] Their *dohākośas* are therefore full of references to both these terms separately as well as conjointly. A few examples are as follows :—

सचल णिचल जो सअलाचार ।
सुण्ण णिरंजण म करु विआर ॥ (तिल्लो ४)
हऊँ सुण्ण जगु सुण्ण तिहुअण सुण्ण ।
णिम्मल सहजें ण पाव ण पुण्ण ॥ (तिल्लो. ३४)
सुण्ण करुण जइ जोउणु सक्कइ ।
णउ भवे णउ णिव्वाणे यक्कइ ॥ (सरह. ७)
सुण्ण वि अप्पा सुण्णु जगु ।
घरे घरे एहु अक्खाणु ॥ (सरह. ५७)

These verses have their echo in the following verses from *Pāhuḍadohā* and *Yogapradīpa* :—

उव्वस वसिया जो करइ वसिया करइ जु सुण्णु।
वलि किज्जउ तसु जोइयहि जासु ण पाउण पुण्णु ॥ (पा. १९२)

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17. *Yoga-Pradipa* pub. by Jaina Sahitya Vikas Mandal, Bombay, 1961.
18. *Dhyāna Vicāra*, included in *Namaskara Svādhyāya* (Prākṛt) pp. 225-260 (Pub. by Jaina Sahitya Vikasa Mandal, Bombay, 1961).
19. चित्तमवेहि नाचित्तं द्वयाभावान्न किञ्चन ।
न किञ्चिन्नाम विद्येत भ्रान्त्या सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥
(सरह के दोहाकोष पर अद्वयवज्र कृतटीका में उद्धृत)

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सुण्णं ण होइ सुण्णं दीसइ सुण्णं च तिहुवणे सुण्णं ।
अवहरइ पाव-पुण्णं सुण्ण-सहावेण गओ अप्पा ॥ (पा. २१२)

यच्छुभं कर्म-कर्तृत्वं तत्कुर्यान्मनसा सह ।
मनस्तुल्यं फलं यस्मात् शून्ये शून्यं भवेत् पुनः ॥ (यो. ८०)

Pahuḍadohā 212 clearly indicates that to the writer *Śūnya* is no longer a mere negative, but has some positive content, something like what we find in the Hindi poems of *Dādū* whose commentators interpret *Śūnya* as peaceful *Nirvāṇa* or the state of *Samādhi*.[20] The *Pāhuḍadohā* meaning is near to the latter idea.

2. *NIRAÑJANA*

Nirañjana was to the Tantric and Haṭha-Yogi the epithet of the Supreme Self.[21] The word became particularly favourite with the authors of *Pāhuḍadohā* and *Yogapradīpa*, as it was quite suitable as an adjective of the Supreme Soul. I have noticed it occurring 17 times in the two works. (*P.D.* 38, 61, 62, 64, 77, 78, 79, 94 and *Y.P.* 11, 27, 33, 38, 49, 50, 57, 60 and 75). One example from each work may be given here:—

पाउ वि अप्पहिं परिणवइ कम्मइं ताम करेइ ।
परम-**णिरंजणु** जाम ण वि णिम्मलु होइ मुणेइ (पा. ७८)

कीदृशोऽस्मि क्व गंतास्मि किं करोमि स्मरामि किम् ।
इति योगी न जानाति लयलीनो **निरंजने** ॥ (यो. ७५)

3. *SAMARASA*

The word *Samarasa* occurs again and again in the Buddhist *Dohākośas* in the sense of mental equipoise of the ascetics. For example—

सहजें भावाव ण पुच्छह ।
सुण्णकरुण तहिं **समरस** इच्छह ॥ (तिल्लो. २)

जहि जाइ चित्त तहि सुणहु अचित्त ।
समरसं णिम्मल भावाभावरहिअ ॥ (तिल्लो. ११)

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20. H. P. Dvivedi : *Hindi Sahitya ki Bhumika*, p. 39.

21. निर्गुणो बिन्दुरूपश्च सिद्धिकारणमेव हि ।
केचिद् वदन्ति सो ब्रह्मा कैश्चिद् विष्णुः प्रकाश्यते ॥
कैश्चिद् रुद्रो महापूर्णो एको देवो निरञ्जनः ॥ (षट्चक्रनिरूपण)

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जिम लोण विलिज्जइपाणिएहि ।
तिम घरिणि लइ चित्त ॥
समरस जाइ तक्खणे ।
जइ पुणु ते सम णित्त ॥ (काण्ह. ३२)

This same word recurs at least 11 times in *P.D.* and *Y.P.* (*P.D.* 49, 64 and 176 and *Y.P.* 42, 65, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89 and 132). For example:

मणु मिलियउ परमेसरहो परमेसरु जि मणस्स ।
विण्णि वि **समरसि** हुइ रहिय पुज्ज चडावउँ कस्स ॥ (पा. ४९)

देह-महेली एह वढ तउ सत्तावइ ताम ।
चित्तु णिरंजणु परिण सिहुँ **समरसि** होइ ण जाम ॥ (पा. ६४)

जिम लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणियहँ तिम जइ चित्तु विलिज्ज ।
समरसि हूवइ जीवडा काइं समाहि करिज्ज ॥ (पा. १७६)

ध्यातृ-ध्यानोभयाभावे ध्येयेनैक्यं यदा व्रजेत् ।
सोऽयं **समरसीभाव**स्तदेकीकरणं मतम् ॥ (यो. ६५)

संकल्प-कल्पनामुक्तं राग-द्वेष-विवर्जितम् ।
सदानन्द-लये लीनं मनः **समरसं** स्मृतम् ॥ (यो. ८९)

Of particular significance is the identical part of verse 176 of *Pāhuḍadohā* and verse 11 of Tillopāda's *Dohākośa* which is an unfailing evidence of direct borrowing.

4. *SUN, MOON, WIND AND TIME*

These four elements of nature have a symbolic significance with the Buddhist Sahajayāna ascetics. The sun and the moon signify very much the same as the *Iḍā* and *Piṅgalā nāḍis* of the *Haṭhayogis*, while the wind indicates the mind, together with the senses. The ascetic has to suppress these in order to reach the Supreme state. Siddha Sarahapa says :—

जहि मण **पवण** ण संचरइ **रवि ससि** णाह पवेस ।
तहि वढ चित्त विसाम करु सरहे कहिअ उऐस ॥ (सरह. २५)

चंद सुज्ज धसि छोलिअ घोट्टइ ।
सो आणु-तर एत्थु पइट्ठइ ॥ (सरह. ३५)

एव्वहिं सयल जाण णिगूढो ।
सहज सहावें ण जाणिअ मूढो ॥

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अध उध मग्गवरें पइसरइ ।
चंद सुज्ज वेइ पडिहरइ ॥ (सरह)

जहिं मण इंदिअ पवण हुणट्ठा ।
ण जाणमि अप्पा कहिं गइ पइट्ठा ॥ (कर्णरिपा)

वज्जिजइ कालहु तणिअ गइ ।
वेविआर समरस करइ ॥ (सरह ५७)

The *Pāhuḍadohā* makes many references to these three along with time - *kāla* as follows :

कालहिं पवणहिं रवि-ससिहिं चहु एक्कट्ठइं वासु
हउँ तुहिं पुच्छउँ जोइया पहिले कासु विणासु ॥

ससि पोखइ **रवि** पजलइ पवणु हलोले लेइ ।
सत्त रज्जु तमु पिल्लि करि कम्महँ **कालु** गिलेइ ॥ (पा. २१९-२२०)

The sun and the moon (i.e. the *Iḍā* and *Piṅgalā*) are also mentioned by the Siddhas as the two paths right and left which have to be abandoned. These are also found mentioned in *Pāhuḍadohā.*

वाम दहिण जो खाल विखला ।
सरह भणइ वप उजुवट भइला ॥ (सरह)

वाम दहिण चापो मेलि मेलि मागा ।
वाटत मिलिल महासुह संगा ॥ (कंकणपाद)

वाम दहिण दो वाटा छाडा
सान्ती वुलथेउ संकेलिउ ॥ (शान्तिपा)

These are found mentioned in *Pāhuḍadohā* as follows :—

वामिय किय अरु **दाहिणिय** मज्झइं वहइ णिराम ।
तहिं गामडा जु जोगवइ अवर वसावइ गाम ॥

वे छंडेविणु **पंथडा** विच्चे जाइ अलक्खु ।
तहो फल वेयहो किं पि णउ जइ सो पावइ लक्खु ॥ (पा. १८१ व १८८)

In *Yogapradīpa* the three find mentioned as follows :—

सोम-सूर्य- द्वयातीतं **वायु**-संचार-वर्जितम् ।
संकल्प-वर्जितं चित्तं परं ब्रह्म निगद्यते । (यो. ७१)

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5. *NĀDA - BINDU*

The Buddhist Siddhas frequently record their experience of a sound which they call *Nāda*. In subsequent times the idea developed into a sort of 'music of the spheres' called *Anāhata-nāda* with which the whole Universe was ringing and to get into tune with it became an ideal. In the works of Saraha and others the word *Nāda* is generally associated with another word *Bindu*, which became a symbol of the absolute reality.[22] For example :

णादह विंदुह अंतरे जो जाणइ तिअ भेअ ।
सो परमेसर परमगुरु उत्तारइ तइलोआ ॥ (सरह १६५)

णाद न विंदु न रवि-ससि-मंडल ।
वीअराअ-सहावें मूकल ॥

विंदु णाद णहि ए पहट्ठा ।
अणचाहन्ते आण विणट्ठा ॥ (कंकणपा)

It has also been called *Śabda, Tadhatā Nāda* or *Tantrī Nāda.*

भणई कंकण कलकल **सादें**
सव्वं विछरल **तधता नादें** ॥ (कंकणपा)

वाजइ अलि सहि हेरुअ वीणा ।
सुनि **तंतीधनि** विलसइ रुण्णा ॥ (वीणापा)

In *Pāhuḍadohā* reference to this music of the sky occurs only once, but it is quite significant.

अंबरि विविहु **सद्दु** जो सुम्मइ ।
तहिं पइसरहुँ ण वुच्चइ दुम्मइ ॥
मणु पंचहिं सिहु अत्थवण जाइ ।
मूढा परमतत्तु फुडु तहिं जि ठाइ ॥ (पा. १६८)

In *Yoga-pradīpa Nāda* is mentioned in about a dozen verses and its varieties such as *Anāhata Nāda, Praṇava Nāda* and

22. बिन्दुस्तत्र भवेद् योगः स योगः परमाक्षरः ॥ (देवेन्द्रपरिपृच्छा तन्त्र)
तन्मध्ये परबिन्दु च सृष्टि-स्थिति-लयात्मकम् ।
शून्यरूपं शिवः साक्षात् बिन्दुः परमकुण्डली ॥

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Ghaṇṭā Nāda are also mentioned (*Y.P.* 115-123, 127, 131). In one of these he also associates it with *Bindu* and *Kalā*. In connection with these sounds he also makes mention of *Dvādaśānta*, by which he probably means the *Brahma-randhra*.

परमानन्दास्पदं सूक्ष्मं लक्ष्यं स्वानुभवात्परम् ।
अधस्तात् **द्वादशान्तस्य** ध्यायेन्नादमनाहतम् ॥

तैलधारामिवाच्छिन्नं दीर्घघंटा-**निनाद**वत् ।
लयं **प्रणवनाद**स्य यस्तं वेत्ति स योगवित् ॥

सौख्यं वैषयिकं तावत् सुरम्यं प्रतिभासते ।
अनाहत-लयोत्पन्नं सुखं यावन्न लभ्यते ॥

नाद-विन्दु-कलातीतं परमात्म-कलायुतम् ।
द्वादशान्तं सदा ध्यायेत् सदानन्दैकमन्दिरम् ॥

(यो. ११५-१६, १२२, १३१)

This is the sound which has attracted the heart of Kabir when he says—

सबद अनाहत होत है ।
सुरत लगी तहँ मोर ॥

And this is also the sound heard by the English poet Wordsworth when he said—

'Have not we too? Yes we have
Answers; and we know not whence,
Echoes from beyond the grave
Recognised intelligence'.
Such rebounds our inward ear
Catches sometimes from afar,
Listen, ponder, hold them dear,
For of god, of god, they are.'

6. *SAHAJĀVASTHĀ*

It has already been stated that the whole philosophy of the kind described above was called by the Buddhist Siddhas as '*Sahaja Amiya-rasa*', '*Sahaja Svabhāva*', '*Sahaja Svarūpa*'. For example—

णउ तं वाअहिं गुरु कहइ णउ तं बुज्झइ सीसु ।
सहजामिअ-रसु सअल जगु कासु कहिज्जइ कीसु ॥ (सरह ८)

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कंध भूअ आअत्तण इंदी ।
सहज-सहावें सअल विवंदी ॥
सहजें भावाभाव ण पुच्छह ।
सुण्ण करुण तहिं समरस इच्छह ॥ (तिल्लो १-२)

चित्ताचित्त विवज्जहु णित्त ।
सहज-सरूवें करहु रे थित्त ॥ (तिल्लो ३०)

Numerous works were composed by the Buddhist saints on *Sahajayāna*, such as *Sahajānanda-Svabhāva* of Kaṅkālīpāda, *Sahajāmnāya* of Medinīpā, *Sahaja-Śambara-Svādhiṣṭhāna* and *Sahajopadeśa* of Śabarapā etc. (Purātattva Nibandhāvali of Rahul Sankrityayan, p. 171, 300 etc.)

The *Sahajapantha* was quite popular even in the 16th century as is evident from the utterances of Kabir such as—

सहज सहज सब ही कहैं सहज न चीन्है कोइ ।
जिन सहजें विषया तजी **सहज** कही जे सोइ ॥

The *Pāhuḍadohā* refers to *Sahajāvasthā* as follows :—

सहज-अवत्थहिं करहुलउ जोइय जंतउ वारि ।
अखइ णिरामइ पेसियउ सइं होसइ संहारि ॥ (पा. १७०)

Here it appears as if the author is warning the Yogi against joining the *Sahajayāna* sect as such. In the *Yoga-pradīpa*, however, there are no less than four specific mentions of *Sahaja* as *Avasthiti*, *Sthāna*, *Laya* and *Avasthā* (*Y. P.* 59, 62, 114 & 120) and it is recognised as the way to salvation.

भव-भ्रान्ति-परित्यागादानन्दैकरसात्मिका ।
सहजावस्थितिः साधोरयं मोक्षपथः स्मृतः ॥

पवनो म्रियते यत्र मनो यत्र विलीयते ।
विज्ञेयं **सहजं स्थानं** तत्सूक्ष्ममजरामरम् ॥

मणि-हुतवह-तारा-सोम-सूर्यादयोऽपि
क्षिति-विषयमिहाल्पं बाह्यमुद्योतयन्ति ।
सहज-लय-समुत्थं द्योतयेज्ज्योतिरन्त-
स्त्रिभुवनमपि सूक्ष्म-स्थूलभेदं सदैव ॥

अक्षर-ध्वनि-निर्मुक्तं निस्तरङ्गं समे स्थितम् ।
यच्चित्तं **सहजावस्थं** स नादस्तेन भिद्यते ॥

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7. *UNMANĪBHĀVA*

In the Haṭha Yoga tradition a particular term *Unmanībhāva* was used for the state of *Samādhi* or detachment.[23] We find one reference to it in *Pāhuḍadohā* and four in *Yoga-pradīpa* as follows :—

उम्मणि थक्का जासु मणु भग्गा भूवहिं चारु ।
जिम भावइ तिम संचरउ ण वि भउ ण वि संसारु ॥ (पा. १०४)

पूर्वमार्गे न मोक्षोऽस्ति पश्चिमेऽपि न विद्यते ।
उन्मार्ग **उन्मनीभावे** मुक्तिः स्याद् मार्ग-वर्जिता ॥

मनो-व्यापार-निर्मुक्तं सदैवाभ्यास-योगतः ।
उन्मनीभावमायातं लभते तत्पदं क्रमात् ॥

विमुक्त-विषयासङ्गं सन्निरुद्धं मनो हृदि ।
यदायात्युत**मनीभावं** तदा तत्परमं पदम् ॥

न किञ्चित् चिन्तयेत् चित्तमु**न्मनीभाव**संगतम् ।
निराकारं महासूक्ष्मं महाध्यानं तदुच्यते ॥ (यो. ५८. ६३-६४, ७३)

8. *MISCELLANEOUS*

A few more similarities of *Pāhuḍadohā* and *Yoga-pradīpa* on the one hand and Saraha's *Dohākośas* on the other are noteworthy.

1. Saraha symbolizes mind with *karaha* (Skt. *karabha* i.e. a camel) as follows :—

बद्धो गमइ दसदिसेहि मुक्को णिच्चल ठाइ ।
एमइ **करहा** पेक्खु सहि विवरिअ महु पडिहाइ ॥ (सरह ८३)

This is almost the same as the following in *Pāhuḍadohā*—

बद्धउ तिहुवणु परिभमइ मुक्कउ पउ विण देइ ।
दिक्खु ण जोइय करहुलउ विवररेरउ पउ देइ ॥ (पा. १८०)

The word *Karaha* occurs at least half a dozen times in *Pāhuḍadohā* (*P. D.* 42. 92, 112, 113, 170, 190).

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23. राजयोगः समाधिश्च **उन्मनी** च **मनोन्मनी** ।
अमरत्वं लयस्तत्त्वं शून्याशून्यं परं पदम् ॥
अमनस्कं तथाद्वैतं निरालम्बं निरञ्जनम् ।
जीवन्मुक्तिश्च **सहजा** तुर्या चेत्येकवाचकाः ॥ (हठयोगप्रदीपिका)

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2. Saraha denounces *Mantra-tantra* etc. as follows :—

मंत ण तंत ण धेअ ण धारण ।
सव्व वि रे वढ विब्भम कारण ॥

असमल चीअ(?) म झाणें खरडह ।
सुह आच्छंतें म अप्पण झगडह ॥ (सरह ४३)

The parallel verse in *Pāhuḍadohā* is as follows :—

मंतु ण तंतु ण धेउ ण धारणु ।
ण वि उच्छासह किज्जइ कारणु ॥

एमइ परमसुक्खु मुणि सुव्वइ ।
एही गलगल कासु ण रुच्चइ ॥ (पा. २०६)

3. Saraha uses the word *Haṁsa* for the self as follows—

धरियउ हंस मइ कहियउ भेअ ।
अधा उद्ध दुइ पक्खा छेअ ॥ (सरह ७४)

In *Yoga-pradīpa* we find—

स्व-**हंस**मन्तरात्मानं चिद्रूपं परमात्मनि ।
योजयेत् **परमे हंसे** निर्वाणपदमाश्रिते ॥ (यो. ४६)

4. Saraha has expressed his anger against the Pandit and his knowledge of the *śāstras* without discovering the Buddha within himself.

पंडिअ सअल सत्थ वक्खाणइ ।
देहहिं बुद्ध वसंत ण जाणइ ॥

गणमागमण ण एक्क वि खंडिअ ।
तउ णिल्लज्ज भणइ हउँ पंडिअ ॥ (सरह ७५)

This may be well compared with the expressions in *Pāhuḍadohā*:

तासु लीह दिढ दिज्जइ जिम पढियइ तिम किज्जइ ।
अह व ण **गम्मागम्मइ** तासु भजेसहिं अप्पुणु कम्मइं ।

वक्खाणडा करंतु बुहु अप्पि ण दिण्णु ण चित्तु ।
क्खणहिं जि रहिउ पयालु जिम पर संगहिउ बहुत्तु ॥

पंडिय-पडिय पंडिया कणु छंडिवि तुस कंडिया ।
अत्थे गंथे तुट्ठो सि परमत्थु ण जाणहि मूढो सि ॥ (पा. ८३-८५)

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5. Although it cannot be denied that the terminology and style of Sarahapāda and other Buddhist Siddhas have influenced the Jain authors of *Pāhuḍadohā*, *Yoga-pradīpa* and allied works, the ascetics of this category formed a class by themselves cutting across their religions. Therefore, it cannot be said that all the borrowing was on one side only. When we read in Saraha's *Dohākośa-gīti*

जिणवर वअण पत्तिज्जहु साचें ।
सरह भणइ मइँ कहिअउ वाचें ॥ (सरह ११७)

there is a temptation to infer that some of his ideas may have been borrowed from Jainism. Though Jina was an epithet of Buddha also, he is nowhere otherwise found to have been called Jinavara which has been the most common term for a Jaina Tīrthaṁkara.

Besides *Pāhuḍadohā* and *Yoga-pradīpa*, I had mentioned *Dhyāna-vicāra* as the third Jain work influenced by the terminology of the Buddhist ascetics. But in the comparative presentation of the texts above, this work has been ignored by me for the reason that in its contents and form it is not a poem like the other works, but a technical hand-book explaining all the borrowed terms systematically from the Jaina point of view as follows :—

ध्यानं, परमध्यानं, शून्यं, परमशून्यं, कला, परमकला, ज्योतिः, परमज्योतिः, बिन्दुः, परमबिन्दुः, नादः, परमनादः, तारा, परमतारा, लयः, परमलयः, लवः, परमलवः, मात्रा, परममात्रा, पदं, परमपदं, सिद्धिः, परमसिद्धिः, इति ध्यानमार्गभेदाः । उक्तं च—

सुन्न[1] कल[2] जोइ[3] विंदू[4]
नादो[5] तारा[6] लओ[7] लवो[8] मत्ता[9] ।
पय[10] सिद्धी[11] परम-जुया
झाणाई[12] हुंति चउवीसं ॥

This is followed by a short explanation of each one of these twenty-four terms beginning with *Dhyāna*. *Śūnya* is explained as-

शून्यम् चिन्ताया उपरमः । द्रव्यशून्यं क्षिप्तचित्तादिना द्वादशधा—

खित्ते दित्तुम्मत्ते राग-सिणेहाइ-भयमहव्वत्ते ।
णिद्दाइ-पंचगेणं बारसहा दव्वसुन्नं ति ॥

भावतो व्यापारयोग्यस्यापि चेतसः सर्वथा व्यापारोपरमः ।

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Bindu and *Nāda* are explained as-

विन्दुः द्रव्यतो जलादेः, भावतो येन परिणाम-विशेषेण जीवात् कर्म गलति ।

नादः द्रव्यतो बुभुक्षातुराणामङ्गुली-स्थगित-कर्णानां सुसूत्कारः । भावतः शरीरोत्थ एव तूर्यनिर्घोष इव श्रूयते ।

This chapter explaining the twenty four terms, is called *Saṅkṣepārthaḥ*. It is followed by a chapter called *Dhyāna-vicāra* which explains the several kinds of *Bhāvanas* on the basis of the following verse from the *Bhagvadgītā*, which is quoted—

आरुरुक्षोर्मुनेर्योगं कर्म कारणमुच्यते ।
योगारूढस्य तस्यैव शमः कारणमुच्यते ॥ (भ. गी. ६, ३,)

In the sequence, sixteen Vidyā-devatās–Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajra-śṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī etc. are mentioned. *Bhāvana Yogas* and *Karaṇa Yogas* are shown to be of 96 kinds. Of these the 8 mental *Karaṇas* are :

मनोविषयं करणमष्टधा-उन्मनीकरणं, महोन्मनीकरणं, परमोन्मनीकरणं, सर्वोन्मनीकरणं, उन्मनीभवनं, महोन्मनीभवनं, परमोन्मनीभवनं, सर्वोन्मनीभवनम् ।

Unmanīkaraṇa is explained as–

उत् प्राबल्येन गतमिव चिन्ताभावान्नष्टमिव मनो यस्यां सा उन्मना । उन्मना क्रियते अनेन उन्मनीकरणं मनोमृत्युरित्यर्थः ।

Thus, the work begun by the authors of *Pāhuḍadohā* and *Yoga-pradīpa* has been completed by the author of *Dhyāna-vicāra*. These works represent the genius of Jainism to integrate foreign elements into its own system without substantially affecting its basic frame work. The *guṇas* remain, while the *paryāyas* change.

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LOHĀCĀRYA'S *ĀRĀDHANĀ*: A MISSING WORK

Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur

A *Śramaṇa*, a Jaina monk (to a certain extent even a Jaina house-holder), is particular as to how he ends his worldly career. He wants to die peacefully with a balance of mind and in spiritual meditation. For him, dying is as much an art as living and he tries to prepare himself for a quiet death almost from the time he begins to understand and reflect upon the problems of life and death.

The *Sallekhanā-maraṇa* is described as giving up the body as a duty, or for the purpose of religion, on the arrival of unavoidable calamity, distress, old age and disease. "To be able to control one's conduct at the moment of death is the fruit (culmination) of asceticism." All seers are agreed on this; so one should apply oneself to the best of one's ability to attain *Samādhi* or *Sallekhanā-maraṇa*. On that occasion one should give up love, hatred, attachment and possessions with a pure mind and one should obtain in sweet words forgiveness from one's kinsmen and attendants and also forgive them oneself. 'Renouncing duplicity and reflecting on the sins committed in any of the three ways, *kṛta*, *kārita* and *anumata*, one should take all the great vows of asceticism for the rest of one's days. Banishing grief, fear, anguish, attachment, wickedness and hatred and bringing into manifestation energy and enthusiasm, one should extinguish the fire of passion with the nectar of the words of scriptures. Giving up solid food by degrees, one should take to milk and whey, then give them up to hot and spiced water. (Subsequently) giving up hot water also, and observing fasting with full determination, he should give up his body, trying in every possible way to keep in mind the five-fold obeisance *mantra*." [1] The above

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1. *Ratnakaraṇḍa-śrāvakācāra* with Prabhācandra's commentary, Māṇikacandra D. J. Granthamālā, 24, pp. 89 ff. English translation, *The Householder's Dharma*, by C. R. Jain, Arrah 1917, pp. 58 ff.

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procedure of voluntary submission to death should not be misunderstood as suicide, because one who offers *Sallekhanā* must maintain a balance of mind in which there is no desire to live, no wish for speedy death. There is no fear, no attachment for friends or relatives and no thirsting for any future pleasures. These mental conditions clearly distinguish *Sallekhanā* from suicide.

When a monk is undergoing *Sallekhanā*, he has to cultivate either by reflection or by reading or hearing certain pious thoughts in connection with *darśana*, *jñāna*, *cāritra* and *tapas*; and he has to maintain a high standard of detachment, forbearance, self-restraint and mental equipoise in the critical hour of death, and attain thereby spiritual purification and liberation. This process is known as *ārādhanā*. Some texts are available dealing with this topic and they cover a wide range of dogmatical and ethico-religious discussions which are undoubtedly of immense and immediate interest to a monk who wants to win the spiritual battle.[2]

There is a large number of independent *Ārādhanā* texts besides casual treatment of this subject in a number of canonical and post-canonical works. More than a dozen *Ārādhanā* texts are already listed.[3] The *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā* of Śivārya is an important work, quite voluminous in its extent and systematic in its exposition of the contents. It has been subjected to a number of commentaries, both in Prākṛt and Sanskrit and round it are grown so many *kathās* illustrating the careers of those who successfully practised the vow of *Sallekhanā-maraṇa*.[4]

Śivārya does not mention the sources of his *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*, but Prabhācandra, in his *Kathākośa* (close of the 11th century A. D.), has a remark like this :[5]

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2. A. N. Upadhye: *Bṛhat-Kathākośa*, Singhi Jain Series 17, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943, Intro. pp. 47-8.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 48-50.
4. *Ibid.* pp. 50 ff.
5. *Ibid.* p. 53.

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एतन्महाश्चर्यं दृष्ट्वा शिवकोटिमहाराजस्य अन्येषां च तत्रत्यलोकानां जैनदर्शने महती श्रद्धा। परमविवेकसंपन्नः चारित्रमोहक्षयोपशमविशेषवशाच्च परमवैराग्यसंपत्तौ राज्यं परित्यज्य तपो गृहीत्वा सकलश्रुतमवगाह्य लोहाचार्यविरचितां चतुरशीतिसहस्रसंख्यामाराधनां मन्दमत्यल्पायुः प्राण्याशयवंशाद् ग्रन्थतः संक्षिप्य अर्हतोऽर्हे लिङ्गे इत्यादि चत्वारिंशत्सूत्रैः परिपूर्णमर्धतृतीयसहस्रसंख्यां मूलाराधनां कृतवानिति।

From this it is clear that Prabhācandra believed that there was a bigger *Ārādhanā* of Lohācārya. So far no Ms. of this work is discovered, nor is this observation confirmed by any other independent source.

Very lately a Ms. of a Prākṛt commentary on the *Pañcasamgraha* has come to light.[6] The opening section of it, which is more or less a *maṅgala* discussion, has really nothing to do with the subject-matter of the *Pañcasamgraha*. It appears that this *māṅgalika* section formed a part of some *Ārādhanā* text, and mentions Lohācārya as the first author of the *Ārādhanā*. The passage runs thus :

तत्थ गुणणामं आराहणा इदि। किं कारणं। जेण आराधिज्जं ते अणआ दंसण-णाण-चरित्त-तवाणि त्ति।

कत्तारा तिविधा। मूलतंतकत्ता उत्तरतंतकत्ता उत्तरोत्तरतंतकत्ता चेदि। तत्थ मूलतंतकत्ता भयवं महावीरो। उत्तरतंत कत्ता गोदमभयवदो। उत्तरोत्तरतंतकत्ता लोहायरिया भट्टारक अप्पभूदि [=भट्टारयणभूदि] अ-आयरिया।)

This evidence is important in two ways : first, it is a pointer to the existence of a Ms. of the *Ārādhanā* by Lohācārya, and secondly it goes to confirm the observation of Prabhācandra. We have to see whether any Ms. of it is traceable in any of the Bhaṇḍāras.

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6. H. L. Jain: *Pañcasamgraha*, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Banaras, 1960, p. 544. The name Lohācārya seems to have missed the attention of the editor. See his remarks in the Intro., pp. 39–40.

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A STUDY ON MĀNASĀGARA'S *KĀṆHAḌA - CAUPAĪ* A JAINA TEXT IN OLD RĀJASTHĀNĪ

Prof. Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Calcutta

1. *MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL*

The "*Kāṇhaḍa-Caupaī*" of the poet Mānasāgara, is a small but famous Jaina narrative poem written in old Rājasthāni language. The present edition of the text critically edited by me for the first time, is based on the following material :

A. This paper manuscript, written in Devanāgarī character and containing 14 folios, belongs to the Asiatic Society's Government Collections (No. G. 7297). It is written on both sides ; the first and the last folio, however, are written on only one side. The ink used for the body of the text is black, but verse numbers and some corrections are written in red ink. This Ms. is complete, but in comparison with other mss. it seems to us that some interpolations, which have increased the number of the verses from 161 to 168, are found. As some corruptions and confusions are noticed in the Ms., the copyist, I think, has made a few corrections, here and there, which are sometimes quite sensible and sometimes not. The Ms. opens thus :—

॥ × 5 ॥ श्री वीतरागाय नमः ॥ दूहा ॥ पारसनाथ प्रण परमानन्द। दूस दोहग दूरे हरे, अधिक वाधै आनन्द ॥ The concluding portion runs thus—इति श्रीसीलविषये कठियारा काणड चौपद संपूर्णः ॥

B. This is a paper Ms. written in Devanāgarī character and consists of 7 folios. It is preserved in the Abhaya-Jaina-Grantha-mālā, Bikaner, (No. 3538). It is written on both sides, excepting the first. This Ms. is complete, excepting a few folios of the middle which are lost. It is written in black ink, though marginal lines and number of verses are in red ink. The condition of this Ms. is extremely good and it presents, in some cases better readings. It has some strong similarity with A. The total number of verses is 161. It begins thus ;

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श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः। पण्डितश्रीरामविजयगणिभ्यो नमः। श्री जिनाय नमः। अथ काण्थड कठियावारी चौपए लिख्यते ॥ The concluding portion is— श्री सीलविषय काण्थड कठियारा श्री चउपद संपूर्ण ॥ लिखन्त श्रील सङ्कर मध्ये सं— 1847 मिताद्यैव।

P. This is the printed text published from the Sarasvati Pustak Bhāṇḍār, Ratanpole, Ahmedabad. This cannot claim to be critical, as the spirit of the language has sometimes been marred by the editor. The verse number is 161.

These three belong to one and the same group or family; they show a close relationship and represent the same recension. The number of the verses agrees quite clearly, though A has seven verses more due to interpolations.

Of all the three, mentioned above, I usually follow the Mss. A and B, because of the fact that they bear the best amount of similarity both in point of language and spirit. Our text has sometimes been rectified where necessary, by the printed text.

As regards the authenticity of the text, nothing can be said. There are occasional deviations from the recognised grammatical forms. Irregularities in syntax, obscurities in meaning and phonological and morphological peculiarities are also noticed in many places. In some rare cases, some convenient emendations have tentatively been suggested in order to reach the genuine readings of the text, and some of them have been put in square-brackets. All these things can be allowed to remain, when there is the agreement of the three.

2. *THE AUTHOR, HIS DATE AND OTHER WORKS*

Regarding the author we do not know definitely anything at present, except what the text itself gives viz. that the name of the poet is Mānasāgara who belonged to the Tapā-gaccha family of Jaina monks and whose preceptors were like this:— Vijayaprabha Sūri→Vijayaratna (sūri)→Jayasāgara→Jitasāgara→Mānasāgara (the poet). Now from the *Tapā-gaccha-paṭṭāvāli* we come to know that Jayasāgara and Jitasāgara were his immediate ancestors and from the other (vide *Viśvakośa* vii, p. 178), we again know that Vijayaprabha Sūri and Vijayaratna also belonged to the same *gaccha*,

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their period of flourishing being 1675 to 1749 Saṁvat. From this we would easily say that our poet Mānasāgara must be, at least, a remote ancestor of Vijayaprabha Sūri whom he mentioned in the text. No other information is available at present.

Excepting this text, our poet wrote another *Caupaī*, entitled "*Vikramasena Caupaī*" which he composed in the Saṁvat 1724, in the country "Kuḍāri" in the reign of Vikramasenarāja, son of Vikramāditya, who flourished in Saṁvat 1724. His present work was also composed in the country Padmāvati at Marwar at the time of performing the "*Cāturmāsa*" ceremony in the Saṁvat 1747 (=1690 A.D.). This we find in the text :—

Satara saitālisa samai, tihā Kidho Comāsa
sadgurunā prasādathi, pūgīmananā āśa (verse no. 156)

This *satarasaitālisa samai*, is evidenly the saṁvat 1747 (=1690 A.D.). Therefore it can be concluded that the poetic genius of our author flourished between the years 1724 to 1747.

3. *THE STORY OF THE TEXT*

The text relates, by way of an illustration, the story of a layman who has become a Jaina in his later life, coming in contact with the Jaina Sādhus.

It begins with the salutation of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, who is the dispeller of sorrows and sufferings. The author, then, describes in a nutshell, the results of a good and chaste life which is, according to the Jaina doctrines, one of the important factors of spiritual life and in order to exemplify his statement, he has taken the story of a wood-cutter, Kāṇhaḍa by name.

In days of yore there lived in the country of Ayodhya a wood-cutter, Kāṇhaḍa by name, who used to go to a courtesan's house with the money got by selling wood. One day he was so much impressed and over-powered with the lectures of the Jaina Sādhus that he took a vow not to go to a courtesan's house, at least, on a full-moon day. One day he went with the purse of five hundred gold coins to a courtesan's house, Kāmalatā by name, where he saw the full-moon through the window, and at once came

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out of the house leaving the purse to her. Kāmalatā reported that to the King, Kīrtidhara, who, after a careful investigation, handed over the purse to Kāṇhaḍa and then made him his *dewan* (pradhān) due to his charity and trustworthiness. Then one day Dharmaghoṣamuni came there and initiated him as a monk and then taught him eleven Aṅgas. Then Kāṇhaḍa, at last, became a Jaina monk. Here ends the story of the text.

4. *SOURCE OF THE TEXT*

After this story, just adumbrated, we may proceed to trace the source of this story. It must be admitted on all hands that it is a very difficult task for us to ascertain at this stage the exact source of this story, although from the text[1] we come to know that the present story has been taken from a "*Digambara Kathākośa*". But what *Digambara Kathākośa* the poet meant, it is not possible to decide with the materials available at our disposal.

In the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[2] of Hariṣeṇācārya, we have the names of Kīrtidhara (story No. 57, 152), Śrīpati (No. 102-9) and Kāmalatā (No. 65). With the Kāmalatā of the *Bṛhatkathākośa* story, made famous by various Jaina poets in their literature Mānasāgara's story has nothing common except the name. In the *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Kāmalatā is described as the daughter of a courtesan, with all her good qualities, but that Kāmalatā has nothing to do with the Kāmalatā of *Kāṇhaḍa Caupaī*. In the *Kāthākośa* we have the same name of Kāmalatā (P. 69) who is described there as a princess. Taking all these factors into consideration, it seems probable that the poet might have taken the theme from a legendary story current in his time from which it has been entirely reconstructed and embellished by our poet Mānasāgara.

5. *LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT*

The language of *Kāṇhaḍa-Caupāī* is mainly the old Rājasthāni though occasionally interspersed with old Gujarāti. Some old Hindi (mostly Western) forms are also noticed in many cases. Though it is mixed with so many forms, yet the main thread of the language is old Rājasthāni.

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1. "Ḍigpaṭa kathā-kośa thī racioe adhikāra"—(verse 160)
2. Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, 1943.

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The poem was composed at a time (1690 A.D.) when we have two distinct types of language as Rājasthāni and Gujarāti, yet the influence of one cannot be ignored on the other. In the 14th century A.D. we have the two distinct lines of demarcation regarding the origin of these two languages and earlier to the end of the 15th century we have the literature in Rājasthāni[3] by the Jainas on Jaina narrative literature. Our author belongs to the end of the 17th Century.

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3. Designated as "Western Rājasthāni" by L.P. Tessitori.

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SECTION VIII : HISTORY

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THE EPOCH OF THE GĀṄGA ERA

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta

While editing the Māḍagrāma Grant of Devendravarman and Bhīmakheḍi II,[1] I expressed the hope that the data supplied by this record would set at rest the vexed question of the epoch of the Gāṅga Era by fixing it between the two limits, 530 and 560A.D. That hope has been belied; for two eminent scholars have assailed my view on different grounds. This view rested on the two following propositions :

1. That this Grant supplies the definite date 988 Śaka for king Devendravarman, suzerain of Bhīmakheḍi II of the Gāṅga-Kaḍamba family.

2. That this king is identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the Santa Bommali plates of Dharmakheḍi, father of Bhīmakheḍi II, dated in the year 520 of the Gāṅga Era (G.E.).

Taking these two facts as established beyond doubt, I had no difficulty in pointing out that as 520 G.E. and Śaka 988 (=1066 A.D.) fell during the same reign, the Epoch of the G.E. falls between 530 and 560 A.D.

One eminent scholar, Dr. D. C. Sircar, has accepted the first, but rejected the second,[2] while another eminent scholar, MM. V. V. Mirashi, has rejected the first, and accepted the second of the above two points,[3] though both of them accept the same view of the epoch of the G. E., which is different from the one proposed by me.

The main points of Dr. Sircar's criticism are directed against a third assumption of mine, viz. that Devendravarman of the

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1. *Ep. Ind.* XXXI, pp. 45 ff.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 55-6.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI, pp. 120 ff.

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Māḍagrāma Grant was identical with King Rājarāja I Devendravarman of the Later Gāṅga family. After stating the arguments both for and against this assumption, I took care to add that whether this identification was accepted or not it did not affect the main question, viz., the epoch of the G.E. What I meant was that even if the identification was not accepted, still the fact remains that the King Devendravarman of the two Grants must be held to be one and same, being suzerain of the same family and therefore my main argument, that both Śaka 988 and 520 G.E. fell in the reign of the same king, would still hold good. Apart from the suzerainty over the same family, I pointed out that the introductory part of the two Grants is couched almost in the same language. Dr. Sircar merely says that this argument is quite unsatisfactory, and the feudatories may have different overlords of the same name. Everything is of course, possible, but we must consider what is reasonable and more probable. As I have pointed out above, MM. Mirashi was not very much impressed by this argument, and has accepted the identification, and I still hold that Dr. Sircar has not been able to adduce any reasonable grounds against my proposed identification. When two different records, issued under the authority of the same feudatory ruling family, and bearing close resemblance in phraseology, mention as suzerain a king of the same name, the identity of the two must be the natural presumption, unless very cogent arguments may be shown to the contrary. Dr. Sircar has failed to adduce any such argument. He has confused the real issue by directing practially all his arguments and nearly the whole of his comment against the identity of this king with the homonymous king of the main branch of the Gāṅga family, but has referred to the main issue, viz., the identity of the two kings, apart from the family to which they (or he) belonged, only in a very cursory manner, in a sentence or two.

I shall now consider the objection raised by MM. Mirashi regarding my interpretation of the date of the record. The portion containing the date reads as follows: (*Devendravarmmadevasya vijaya-rājye*) *sakāvadanasata-aṣṭāsīti saṁvartu*... For the portion outside the brackets I suggested the reading *Sak-ābde nava-śat-āṣṭāśīti-saṁvatsare*.. The fact that *savada* stands for *śabda* in line 8 of the record leaves no doubt that *sakāvada* is really to be taken as

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Śakābda. The letter *na* before *śata* can only mean *nava*, either by supposing that the following *va* has been dropped through mistake, or the writer used *na* in the sense of *nava*. I still maintain that this is the most natural interpretation.

But instead of this simple and natural interpretation MM. Mirashi takes *sakāvadana* to stand for *śakābdānām* and argues that the letters denoting the hundredth figure have been omitted. I feel that such a forced and unnatural interpretation has only to be stated to be rejected. Here also I would ask scholars to judge for themselves which of the two interpretations is more natural and reasonable. I cannot help feeling that such explanation or interpretaion can only be prompted by a desperate attempt to save a preconceived theory. It is a gratuitous assumption that the writer went out of his way to use the very unusual expression *śakābdānām* but then omitted to use the word denoting the century. It would be difficult to cite a parallel instance of such fanciful suggestion when a simple and natural interpretation is ready at hand.

Both MM. Mirashi and Dr. Sircar have commented that I was not correct in making the statement that no king Devendravarman was known in the Gāṅga family before Śaka 992, and have reminded me that there were four kings of that name before that date. It should have been obvious to anybody that I could only mean that there was no other King of that name in the particular family which was under consideration. The four kings named by Dr. Sircar and MM. Mirashi really belonged to an earlier family, distinct from the one under consideration. MM. Mirashi has cited Bhandarkar's List as his authority, but ignores the fact that Bhandarkar, in his genealogical lists, very correctly placed these four kings under "Early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga", whereas King Devendravarman, accepted by both of us, the king mentioned in the Māḍagrāma Grant, is placed under a different dynasty called "The Later Kings of Kaliṅga" in which there is only one king of that name. The difference is further emphasized by Bhandarkar when he calls the last king of that name in the earlier dynasty as Devendravarman IV, but does not call the king in the later dynasty Devendravarman V. I would leave the readers to judge how far my critics were just in readily assuming that I was ignorant of the

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earlier kings named Devendravarman and giving publicity to it without any hesitation, particularly when I have myself written several articles on that family. MM. Mirashi has also challenged my statement that there was no king Anantavarman ruling in the Gāṅga family in Śaka 917. He says: If we take the epoch of the Gāṅga Era to be A. D. 498-99 as shown by me it can be easily shown that a Gāṅga king named Anantavarman was ruling in Śaka 917". But when the epoch itself is under discussion, such an argument really begs the question. What I obviously meant is that apart from any theory about the epoch of the Gāṅga Era, which is the subject under dispute, there is no independent evidence of the existence of any king named Anantavarman in the Later Gāṅga dynasty ruling in Śaka 917. I therefore maintain that my statement still holds good.

MM. Mirashi has rejected my theory of the epoch of the Gāṅga Era on astronomical grounds. I have discussed this question in a separate article to be shortly published in the 'Altekar Volume of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society'. It will suffice to state here that since the beginning of Indological studies almost everyone who started any theory about the epoch of an era, which has ultimately proved to be quite erroneous, adduced astronomical calculations in support of his theory. This is true of the previous theories of the Gāṅga Era also. It is, therefore, difficult to place much weight on the astronomical calculations for fixing the epoch of an era. It is only when we can determine the epoch of an era within narrow limits on historical grounds, astronomical data may be utilized to determine the exact epoch of an era. General historical data must be our principal evidence and astronomical calculations must be subordinate to it. If my general deduction, on historical grounds, that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era falls between 530 and 560 A.D. be otherwise correct, I would not mind if astronomical calculations do not bear it out. The fault in that case must lie in either inaccurate data or wrong method of calculations. This is proved by the fact that many verifiable dates in Śaka era have been declared to be irregular. I have shown many such instances in the article referred to above.

Apart from this MM. Mirashi has made his calculations on a wrong basis. He started on the assumption that according to my

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theory the epoch of the Gāṅga Era "must lie between A. D. 546 and 556".[4] But I said clearly on p. 47 of my article, and repeated it on p. 49, that the Gāṅga Era was inaugurated some time between 530 and 560 A.D. I then added that if certain assumptions of mine be accepted, we may fix the initial year of the Gāṅga Era within still narrower limits, viz. 546 and 556 A.D. If therefore his calculations were made on a wrong basis, the results do not affect my main theory about the epoch of the Gāṅga Era.

In conclusion, I may again point out that the correctness of my theory depends entirely on the two basic assumptions, mentioned above, viz. that the date of the Māḍagrāma Grant is 988 Śaka, and the King mentioned in it is identical with the homonymous king of the Santa Bommali Plates. If they are right, my theory holds good; if they are not, the theory falls; and in neither case astronomical calculations have any role to play. If the theory holds good then, and then only, astronomical calculations may be utilized to find out, if possible, the exact epoch of the era.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

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A NOTE ON THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

Dr. M. Rama Rao, Tirupati

The objeet of this paper is to make a few fresh suggestions regarding the genealogy, chronology and extent of territory of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty which ruled over coastal Andhradesa for about a century and half. Some of the suggestions are based upon the discovery of a large number of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins in the Telingana part of Andhradesa.

Genealogy

The genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins is based upon five copper-plate grants—the Chikkulla[1], Ramatirtham[2], Ipur I[3] and II[4] and Polamuru plates[5] and an inscription found at Velpuru[6] in the Guntur district.

The description of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman[7], the first ruler mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates is identical. It also agrees in the main with the description given of the third ruler of the same name mentioned in the Polamuru plates and the second ruler mentioned in the Ipur II plates. Further, the epithets "born out of a Hiraṇyagarbha" and "beloved of the women of of Trivaraṇagara[8]" are common to both and in both this Mādhava-

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1. *Ep.Ind.* IV., pp. 193–198.
2. *Ibid.* XII., pp. 133–136.
3. *Ibid.* XVII.. pp. 334–337.
4. *Ibid.* pp. 337–339.
5. *Bharati* VII. pp. 463–480.
6. *S.I.I.* VI., No. 1
7. This Mādhavavarman, the donor of Ipur II plates has been taken to have been the grandson of Mādhavavarman I. This is not correct because he is described as the *Naptā* or great-grandson of Mādhavavarman I.
8. D. C. Sircar - *Successors of Sātavāhanas.* pp. 112 & 208.

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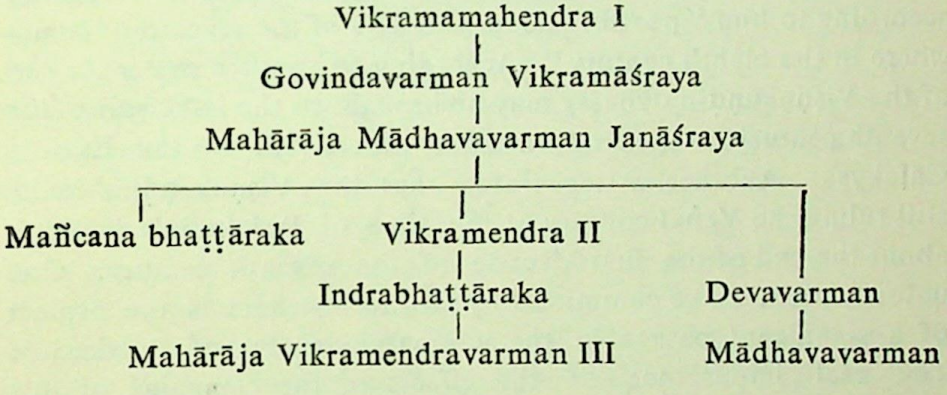
varman figures as the son of Govindavarman. The first ruler mentioned in the Ipur I plates is also a Mādhavavarman whose epithets are identical with those given to the ruler of the same name in the Chikkulla, Ramatirtham and Polamuru plates. There need not, therefore, be any objection to our considering this Mādhavavarman of all the five plates as one and the same person. From this basic identification it follows that this king had three sons—Mañcannabhaṭṭāraka, Vikramendravarman and another son, whose name is not mentioned in the Ipur I plates. In the next generation Vikramendravarman's son, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Devavarman of Ipur I plates were contemporaries. In the succeeding generation Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son, Vikramendravarman III and Devavarman's son Mādhavavarman III were contemporaries. In view of these identifications we obtain the following genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins :—



CHRONOLOGY

The next item of importance is the chronology which involves three general questions—What was the starting point of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule ? When did the rule of this dynasty end ? What was its duration ? Two further questions are also involved in this discussion viz. in which year of the reign of Mādhavavarman I did the Phalguna-pūrṇimā day fall with a lunar eclipse taking place on the day ? what was the interval between this Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, and Jayasiṁha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Cāḷukyan family who gifted the same village to the son of the donee of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant ? Then there is the general question as to the party from whom the Eastern Cāḷukyas conquered Veṅgī, and when did Veṅgī actually become part of the Eastern Cāḷukyan kingdom ?

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Many writers are of the opinion that the Eastern Cāḷukyas conquered Veṅgī from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. One writer says that there is no evidence to show that Pulakesin II took Veṅgī during the course of his campaign on the east coast described in the Aihole inscription though he admits that *Kaunāla* taken by Pulakesin is identical with the famous Kolleru lake near which was situated the capital, Veṅgī. He adds that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka invaded the Visakhapatanam district while the first Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Kubjaviṣṇuvardhana and his son and immediate successor, Jayaiṁha I were in possession of it. According to this writer Pulakesin's campaign amounts to a mere predatory raid which never affected the fortunes of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. This scholar believes further that the last two Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, Indrabhaṭṭāraka and Vikramendra III, ruled as contemporaries of the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings, Viṣṇuvardhana I and Jayasiṁha I. Viṣṇukuṇḍin's rule ended, according to him "possibly about the end of the seventh or somewhere in the eighth century". According to another writer the end of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty may be brought to the later half of the seventh century, a generation after the advent of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. Another writer states that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were still ruling the Veṅgī country at the time of Pulakesin's invasion about the end of the first decade of the seventh century. One unfortunate mistake committed by all these writers is the neglect of a significant pasage in the Kopparam plates of Pulakesin[9]. The real importance of the effects of the campaign of this Cāḷukyan king on the east coast can be gauged only if the Aihole inscription and the Kopparam plates are taken together. The Aihole record describes the march of the Cāḷukyan forces from Kosala to Kalinga, Kalinga to Kaunāla and from Kaunāla into the Pallava territory. The Kopparam plates are dated in the 21st year of the reign of Pulakesin, corresponding to 629-630 A.D., and they record a gift made by that monarch in Karmarāṣṭra and announced by his younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana I, then the *Yuvarāja*. This Yuvarāja is said to have "secured a kingdom in the lineage of his son", meaning thereby that he had carved a kingdom out of the conquests made on the east coast and made it hereditary among his own descendants before 629-630 A.D. Now

9. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII., pp. 256—260.

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if this kingdom did not extend into Karmarāṣṭra how could he announce a gift made in that area? His own grants show that Plakirāṣṭra and Piṣṭapura, both situated to the north of the Godavary, were under his rule. The Kopparam indicate the prevalence of his authority over Karmarāṣṭra, situated to the south of the Krishna. If so, could it be possible for the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to be ruling as an independent power over Veṅgī, which is situated between the Godavary in the north and the Krishna in the south? The Chikkulla plates register the gift of a village on the bank of the river Krishna by Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendra III. Is this compatible with the prevalence of Cāḷukyan rule in the region? There is one inscription at Chezerla in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district which mentions Viṣamasiddhi, identified with the Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Viṣṇuvardhana I. Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur II plates is described as the lord of *Trikūṭa-Malaya*, identified correctly with the Kotappakonda hill and its neighbourhood in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. An inscription of the second Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I is found at Vipparla in the same taluk and district. How then can these two kings be contemporaneously ruling over the same region? A careful examination of the provenance of the inscriptions of the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings will throw further light on this problem. The Chipurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana[10] register a gift made in the Dimiliviṣaya and are issued from a camp in the Plaki-viṣaya. His Timmapuram plates[11], issued from Piṣṭapura, record a gift made in the Plaki-viṣaya. The Kopparam plates register a gift made in the Karmarāṣṭra, in the Guntur district and announced by him. Of the records of his son and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I, the Peddamaddali plates[12], issued from Udayapura register the gift of a village in the Gudrahāraviṣaya, the area round about Gudivada in the Krishna district, in the Veṅgī region. According to some, this Udayapura is identical with Udayagiri in the Nellore district to the south of the Guntur district. The Moparru plates[13] mention the village of that name in

10. Chipurupalli Plate, *I.A.* XX., pp. 15-18.

11. Timmapuram (*Ep. Ind.* IX., pp. 317-319) plate.

12. *I.A.* XIII., pp. 137 ff.

13. c.p. 9 of *MER.* 1919-1920.

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the Veṅgī region in the Gudivada taluk of the Krishna district. The Niduparru grant[14] mentions a gift made in the Gaṇḍeruvāṭi-viṣaya, situated on the bank of the Krishna. The Pedavaegi plates[15] record the gift of a village near Velanturu or Vellaturu again in the lower Krishna region. The Polamuru plates[16] record the gift of a village in the Gudavādi-viṣaya to the north of the Godavary. The Vipparla inscription[17], dated in the eighth year of the reign, mentions the gift of a village in the Guntur district. His Macharla stone inscription[18] is also in the same district. This unimpeachable epigraphic evidence shows beyond doubt that the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings ruled over the Veṅgī area situated between the East Godavary and Guntur districts. Of these, Viṣṇuvardhana I[19] ruled between 624-642 A.D. and his son and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I ruled between 642-675 A.D. The inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana II who more or less followed Jayasiṁha I and ruled between 675-684 A.D. are found in the Krishna and Guntur districts. These facts indicate clearly the impossibility of the prevalence of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule over the Veṅgī country beyond 620 A.D.

Now arises the question as to the party from whom the Cāḷukyas took Veṅgī. None of their inscriptions refers to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Eastern Cāḷukyan inscriptions of a later date state that Kubjaviṣṇu conquered Veṅgī from the *Durjayas*. A family of that description is known from the Tandivada plates of Pṛthvīmahārāja[20] to have ruled in the neighbourhood of Veṅgī about the beginning of the seventh century A. D. It is safer to rely on this testimony of the Cāḷukyan records and conclude that

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14. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII., pp. 55-58.
15. *Ibid.* XIX., pp. 258-261.
16. *Ibid.* pp. 254-256.
17. *MER.* 147 of 1899.
18. Ramarao-*Inscriptions of Āndhra Dynasties* p. 31., no 98.
19. Katlaparru grant of Vijayaditya III, Pandipaka grant of Elliott's Collection (15-6-26) and Kandyam plates (*JAHRS.* XI., p. 85).
20. *Ep. Ind.* XXIII., pp. 88-99.

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the period of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule was followed by a short period of Durjaya rule and that the Durjayas were replaced by the Eastern Cāḷukyas rather than indulge in the speculative theory of Cāḷukyan conquest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

It is now beyond dispute that the rule of the Eastern Cāḷukyas commenced in 624 A. D. Allowing a few years for the rule of the Durjayas, the end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule may be ascribed to about 615 A. D. Three Viṣṇukuṇḍin grants yield the year 47 or 17 for Mādhavavarman II, the year 10 for Vikramendra II and the year 27 for Indravarman, thus making a total of 84 or 54 years. Taking the minimum of 54 years as the total duration of the rule of the last three kings and calculating it from 615 A. D. we get 561 A.D. for the likely commencement of the reign of Indravarman's father, Vikramendra II. Mādhavavarman I is known to have made a gift in a Phālguna-pūrṇima day in the 40th year of his reign, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. There was a lunar eclipse in 556 A.D. If this corresponded to the 40th regnal year his reign must have started in 516 A.D. The intervening period of five years may be assigned to the rule of his son, Vikramendra II. Two rulers preceded Mādhavavarman I and they may be assigned a period of fifty years. This points to about 465 A.D. as the initial year of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule. It follows from this that the dynasty flourished for about 150 years between 465 and 615 A.D.

The chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty may be stated as follows:—

Vikramamahendra I	465-491 A.D.
Govindavarman Vikramāśraya	491-516
Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya	516-556
Vikramendravarman II	556-561
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	561-588
Vikramendra III	588-598
Mādhavavarman III	598-615

Extent of territory

The copper plate grants of the Viṣṇkuṇḍins and a large number of their coins, recently examined, help us to determine the extent of the territory of this dynasty at various times. Mādhavavarman I is described in his Polamuru plates as having crossed the

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Godavary for a *digvijaya* and gifting the village of Polamuru in the Guddavādi-viṣaya corresponding to the Ramachandrapuram taluk on the northern bank of the river. He is also mentioned in a record dated in the 33rd year of his reign at Velpur in the Narasaraopet taluk in the Guntur district. I have recently examined a number of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins[21] in the Hyderabad Museum. They are of the lion and vase variety and obtained from the Karimnagar district and Nalgonda district of the Telingana part of Āndhra Pradesh, The lion on these coins resembles the lion found on the seals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin copper plate grants. I have therefore no hesitation in ascribing these coins to Mādhavavaraman I. This monarch is described as the beloved of the women of Trivaranagara, a city taken to have been built by Tivaradeva, a Pāṇḍuvaṁśi king of that name of Kosala about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. This indicates another *digvijaya* of Mādhavavarman across Telingana into central India. The expansion to the south of the Krishna was obviously at the expense of the Ānanda gotra kings. The find of his coins in the Nalgonda district may be taken to indicate the annexation of that area from the Vākāṭakas whose power at this time was on the decline. The only known copper plate grant of Indrabhaṭṭāraka was found at Ramatirtham in the Visakhapatnam district, near Vizianagaram and it records the gift of a village in the Plakirāṣṭra situated in the same district. He is said to have fought many elephant battles and the Godavary plates of Pṛthvīmūla refers to a fight between this Indrabhaṭṭāraka and an adhirāja Indra identified with an Eastern Gāṅga ruler. This shows that the Gāṅgas made an attempt to recover southern Kaliṅga which was taken by Mādhavavarman I after a *digvijaya*. Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son and successor, Vikramendra III is known to have issued the Chikkulla plates gifting a village on the bank of the Krishna. He is said to have ascended the throne even as a boy. His successor, Mādhavavarman, is described as the lord of Trikūṭamalaya, identified with Kotappakonda in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. His Ipur plates are issued from Amarapura, identified with Amaravati in the Sattenapalli taluk

21. These coins are under study and will soon be published by the Andhra Pradesh Archaeology Department.

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of the Guntur district. These records show that the last two Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings were pushed on to the southern part of their dominion. This seems to be the result of the expansion of the power and influence of Pṛthvīmahārāja of the Durjaya family which ruled from Piṣṭapura. The Durjayas must have taken advantage of the youth of Vikramendra III and pushed on into Viṣṇukuṇḍin territory. The Durjayas were still holding Veṅgī when Pulakesin and his younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana invaded the east coast and conquered them.

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AN ALLEGED INSCRIPTION OF RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA KṚIṢHṆA III

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta.

There is an inscription, written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet and in the Sanskrit and Kannaḍa languages, on the wall of the Rāmaliṅgēśvara temple at Rāmēśvara near Proddatur in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh. Its text, not free from errors, was published with a small introductory note in English in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XI. It has been taken to be an inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.). But an analysis of the contents will show that the record actually belongs to a subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III (794-814 A. D.). The inscription is being re-edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Verse 1, at the beginning of the introductory part containing 24 stanzas, prays for the protection of Dhuradaṅkakāra, the hero of the *praśasti*, by the god Rāmeśvara (modern Rāmaliṅgēśvara).

After the above *maṅgala* stanza, the inscription introduces the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, to which the hero of the eulogy (viz. Dhuradaṅkakāra *alias* Kṛshṇa) apparently belonged, in verses 2 ff. While introducing the said family as a branch of the Yadu clan, verse 2 mentions (1) the god Brahman; (2) from him-Atri; (3) from Atri's eye—the Moon-god; (4) from the Moon-god-Budha; (5) from Budha-Dīrghāyus, the first king of the lunar race; and (6) from Dīrghāyus king Yadu who seems to be also called Kukura and Vṛṣṇi wrongly. It will be seen that this genealogy is not quite in keeping with the epic and Purāṇic traditions. The same stanza further mentions (1) in the family of the said Yadu-Kukura-Vṛṣṇi—Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa); (2) after him—Ratipati (Pradyumna); and (3) Ratipati's son Aniruddha. Verse 3 praises the kings born in the family of the Yadus with reference to the help they rendered the lord of the gods in his struggle with the demons.

Verse 4 introduces the Rāshṭrakūṭa family which sprang from the said family of the Yadus. In regard to the representation of

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the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty as a branch of the Yadu clan, it may be pointed out that this is not found in the records of Govinda III (794-814 A.D.) but appears for the first time in a record of his son Amoghavarsha I (814-78 A.D.). The present record thus appears to be the earliest Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription clearly attributing Yādava origin to the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Verse 5 mentions the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga (742-57 A.D.) *alias* Sāhasatuṅga who is stated to have enjoyed royal fortune as a result of having churned the ocean that was the Chālukyas, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that Dantidurga died when young and the sovereignty passed on to king Kṛishṇa, i.e. Dantidurga's uncle Kṛishṇa I (756-75 A. D.). Verse 7 speaks of Prabhūtavarsha (i.e. Govinda II, 775-80 A.D.) as the son of Kṛishṇa I and vaguely refers to the exploits of his elephant force in the region watered by the Ganges. A Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of the Ganges Valley during the reign of Govinda II, apparently when king Indrāyudha (783 A.D.) was ruling at Kanauj, is not mentioned in any other source. We know that Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, composed in Śaka 705 (783 A.D.) mentions the Northern ruler Indrāyudha as a contemporary of the southern king Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa, while Pāla and Gurjara Pratīhāra inscriptions suggest that the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla ousted Indrāyudha and installed Cakrāyudha (apparently a member of Indrāyudha's family) on the throne of Kanauj.

Of course it is difficult to determine whether Kṛishṇa's son Śrīvallabha ruling in 783 A.D. was Govinda II or his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvarsha who, as we shall presently see, was the *de facto* ruler during his elder brother's reign and became the *de jure* king a few years later by overthrowing Govinda II. But it is interesting to note that the Rāshṭrakūṭa records ascribe military success to Dhruva in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. Thus verse 14 of the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I states that Dhruva seized the white umbrellas of the Gauḍa king as the latter was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna[1] while a stanza in the Baroda plates of Karka refers to the same king's exploits in the Ganges

1. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII. pp. 244, 252.

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Jumna valley.[2] It is not impossible that Dhruva led the expedition during the reign of his elder brother as a general of the latter. It appears that king Indrāyudha of Kanauj was a friend of the Rāshṭrakūṭas while Dharmapāla was an enemy of Indrāyudha and a friend of Chakrāyudha, a claimant for the Kanauj throne. Thus the presence of Dhruva in the Ganges-Jumna valley seems to have been for the purpose of helping Indrāyudha against the attack of Dharmapāla. This also explains the presence of Dhruva's son and successor Govinda III (794-815 A.D.) in the same region at a later date when, according to verse 23 of the Sanjan plates, Dharma (i.e. Dharmapāla) and Chakrāyudha surrendered themselves to the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. By this time, Indrāyudha had already been ousted and probably taken shelter at the Rāshṭrakūṭa court and Chakrāyudha had occupied the throne of Kanauj with the Pāla king's help.

The relations of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who fought both with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and with the Pālas, with Indrāyudha cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is, however, not impossible that, when Dharmapāla attacked Indrāyudha, the latter applied for help to both the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Partīhāras and received help from both the allies at different periods in his long-drawn struggle with Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, sometimes from the one and sometimes from the other.

Verse 8 of our record seems to refer to the addiction of king Prabhūtavarsha to pleasures in the company of women and states that, owing to the said state of affairs, the ministers raised his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama (780-94 A.D.) to the throne. It is well-known that the same fact is also indicated in the copper-plate grants of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), according to which, "Sensual pleasures made (Govinda II) careless about the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". There is little doubt that Dhruva ousted his elder brother with the help of the ministers. Verse 9, of the inscription under study which is partially preserved, speaks of king Jagattuṅga (i.e. Govinda III) described as the high and victorious

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104, note 1.

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banner of the Tuṅga family, another name of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, and as the son of Dhruva Nirupama. The latter part of this stanza and verses 10 and 11 are damaged and lost.

As will be seen below from our analysis of the writing on the second side of the pillar, verse 12 introduces the hero of the eulogy, whose description continues upto verse 24 with which the introductory section ends. It will also be seen that his name was Dhuradaṅkakāra *alias* Kṛishṇa who was the son of Indra and belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. The identification of this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III is absolutely untenable. In the first place, none of the three Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors bearing the name Kṛishṇa was the son of Indra. Kṛishṇa I was the son of Kakka I, Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) of Amoghavarsha I (814-78 A.D.) and Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) of Amoghavarsha III (934–39 A.D.). Secondly, it is impossible to believe that the six rulers, viz. (1) Amoghavarsha I (son of Govinda III), (2) Kṛishṇa II (son of Amoghavarsha I), (3) Indra (grandson of Kṛishṇa II), (4) Amoghavarsha II (son of Indra III), (5) Govinda IV (younger brother of Amoghavarsha II) and (6) Amoghavarsha III (brother of Indra III), who ruled between Govinda III and Kṛishṇa III, could have all been described by the author of the eulogy in only two stanzas, viz. verses 10-11 engraved only in three or four short lines. This is certainly not suggested by his description of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I, Prabhūtavarsha Govinda II, Dhruva Nirupama and Jagattuṅga Govinda III in verses 5-9, five stanzas here being devoted to the five kings. It is unlikely that, while a stanza each is devoted to the earlier kings, the immediate predecessors of the ruling monarch were described summarily in two stanzas since the description of the latter generally occupies more space in the *praśastis* than that of the former.

Verse 12, which is the first stanza on the second side of the pillar, mentions Kṛishṇa who is compared with Indrānuja (i. e. Upendra or Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). The words *tato'bhūt* in this stanza seem to suggest that the chief's father was mentioned in the previous verse. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to his success against his enemies in general and the Pāṇḍya king in particular and seems also to suggest that Rājamārtaṇḍa was one of his *virudas*. Verse 14 and the first half of the following stanza

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(verse 15), some parts of which cannot be made out, narrates, in his own words, how the said chief was born as the son of his father (cf. *yath=āhaṁ...tanayo=sya jātaḥ* in verse 14) and considered protection of the subjects his main duty as the true son of his father (cf. *tat-sutena hi mayā kāryaṁ jagadrakshaṇam* in the first half of verse 15). The latter half of verse 15 mentions king Kṛishṇa as the son of Indra and as the ruler of the earth. Verse 16 mentions the same ruler by the name Dhuradaṅkakāra while the next stanza (verse 17), the concluding part of which is illegible, mentions him as Kṛishṇarāja. Verse 18 is lost at the end of this side of the pillar.

Verse 19, which is the first stanza on the third side of the pillar, seems to mention a subordinate of Kṛishṇa, the son of Mahendra (i. e. Indra), by name Somaha, who was probably the governor of the area around the locality wherein the inscription has been found. The text of verse 20 is corrupt, though it seems to mention Vallabha-deva (i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor) as the overlord of the hero of the eulogy. Verse 21 indirectly states that the chief Raṭṭakandarpa, i.e. Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra, sent a general *Daṇḍapati*, the same as *Daṇḍanāyaka* to occupy Kāñchī which was previously in the occupation of the Draviḍas apparently meaning the Pallavas. Thus, from verses 14 and 21, we find that Dhuradaṅkakāra Kṛishṇa was also called Rājamārtaṇḍa and Raṭṭakandarpa.

Verse 22 states that the ruler Kṛishṇa who was a Bhāgavata, built at the *Mahāśrama* (apparently meaning Rāmeśvara, the findspot of the inscription) three cloud-touching (temples) which became the ornaments of the valley of the river *Veṇṇā-tala-bhūmi* no doubt referring to the Pennar running through Anantapur, Cuddapa and Nellore Districts. As a matter of fact, Proddaturu and Rāmeśvara in its vicinity both lie near the northern bank of Pennar. The next stanza (verse 23) seems to mention the said temples as 'the rows of Maheśvara's shrines'. The chief's epithet *Bhāgavata* in the previous stanza normally means 'a devotee of the *Bhagavat* (i.e. the god Vishṇu)'. But, considering the fact that the epithet has been used in connection with the construction of three Śaiva temples, it is possible, to take it in the sense of *Śiva-bhāgavata* (i.e. a devotee of Śiva, the

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Bhāgavata). As will be seen below, the Kannaḍa section in the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar speaks of the grant of a village in favour of the god Rāmeśvara and also of a few plots of land to Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa and Kāḷadeva (or...Kāḷadeva) who were apparently deities like Rāmeśvara. This appears to suggest that the three temples built by Krishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra at Rāmeśvara were dedicated to the three gods Rāmeśvara, Masiyaṅkadhavala and Kāḷeśvara(...Kāḷoēś-vara). The last stanza of the section, viz. verse 24, prays for the long life of the three pious works (*dharma-traya*, i. e. the three temples) of the ruler Dhuradaṅkakāra.

The Kannaḍa section in the latter part of the above side of the pillar (lines 28-33) begins with the word *svasti* and states how *Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta* Kannayya (i. e. Kṛi-shṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra-Rājamārtaṇḍa-Raṭṭakandarpa) obtai-ned the locality called Naṅgadūru from the illustrious Goyinda (i. e. Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda III Jagattuṅga) and granted it in favour of the god Rāmeśvara for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas (i. e. the priests of the temples). Next follows a dama-ged and incomplete passage in which the donor seems to be descri-bed as having also given a plot of land lying to east of Naṅgadūru to another deity named Masiyaṅka-dhavala (lines 33 ff. on the third side). Another plot of land measuring fifty *mattars* was given to the deity Kāḷadeva (or...Kāḷadeva) probably along with a field measuring a *kamma* of land and called Navilu (lines 1-2 on the fourth side). In addition to the above, a piece of land to the west of the village (i.e. Naṅgadūru) was granted to the above-menti-oned Masiyaṅkadhavala to be enjoyed as *vilā-bhāga* (probably the same as *viḷā-vṛitti*, *bīḷā-vṛitti*, *bīḷ-ānuvṛitti*, etc. in many Kannaḍa records), the revenue income (*siddhāya*) of this plot of land being five *paramēshṭhi-gadyāṇas* of gold (lines 8-9 on the fourth side).

The concluding part of the record (lines 18-23) on the fourth side contains an endorsement referring to the gift of 30 *mattars* of land in favour of Tippaya-gorava who was apparently a Śaiva priest probably attached to the temple of Rāmeśvara. He may also have been the head of the group of priests in charge of all the three temples built by Dhuradaṅkakāra Kṛishṇa.

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It appears that the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Kṛishṇa, also called Dhuradaṅkakāra, Rājamārtaṇḍa and Raṭṭakandarpa, was a general or viceroy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda III. His *viruda* Raṭṭakandarpa suggests that he was a scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. That he was introduced in verse 12 while the description of his overlord commences in verse 9, with only two stanzas intervening between them, seems to suggest that he was introduced by the author as a close relation of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor. But this relationship cannot be determined without further evidence. It is not altogether impossible that Indra, the father of Kṛishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra, was no other than the homonymous Rāshṭrakūṭa prince who was a younger brother of Govinda III and was made the viceroy of Lāṭa by the latter and that the hero of the eulogy contained in our inscription was the viceroy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor in the area round the Cuddapah District.

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THE INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE WAHABI MOVEMENT, 1831 - 1871

Q. Ahmad, Patna

The 18th century which witnessed the gradual expansion of the British Empire in India, strangely enough, was also characterised by a series of conspiracies, risings and generally anti-British movements of varying nature and extent. Among the latter the Movement of 1857-59 and the Wahabi Movement stand out as the two most pre-eminent ones. While the former has been the subject of several comprehensive studies—soon after its occurence—supplemented by a few valuable ones in recent years—there has yet been no adequate treatment of the latter.

Some accounts, however one-sided, of the external manifestations of the Wahabi Movement — the protracted series of campaigns against the English on the N.W. Frontier and adjoining tribal areas, the trials of some of its leaders, their convictions and life on the Andaman Islands, etc.—are available. Particularly, on the former topic there are a large number of authentic and near-contemporary works, the principal ones being the "Records of Expeditions aganist the N. W. Frontier Tribes" by Lieut. W.H. Paget (Calcutta, 1874), "A Report on the Yusufzais", by H.W. Bellew, (Lahore, 1864), and 'Sitana' by Col. Adye, (London, 1867). But these besides being out of print and scarcely available, deal only with the military aspect of the Movement. But the basic factors relating to it, the Socio-religious condition in India in the 18th century, which gave rise to the Movement, its aims and objects, and last but not the least, its internal organisation have not yet received the full attention they deserve. It is obvious that such a widespread Movement which carried on a regular campaign—with varying fortunes against the British Government for well over half a century (1847-1901) could not have been sustained without a well-managed and deeply rooted organisation.

This remarkable system, which survived for a long time, the ruthless efforts of the powerful British Government to trace and

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root it out from their dominion has been studied, briefly[1] under the following broad headings; (i) Central Organisation at Patna, (ii) Itinerant Preachers, (iii) District Centres, (iv) Collection of Funds, and (v) Secret Codes and Secret Agents.

As is the case with all Reformation Movements, the Wahabi Movement also laid great stress on preaching the aims and objects of its mission. This requirement presupposed the existence of trained and dedicated band of preachers who could travel all over the country and carry its message to the masses both orally and by publication and distribution of treatises, pamphlets, etc.

We are not concerned here with the evolution of the preaching system as developed by Syed Ahmed in his lifetime. During our period (from 1831 onwards) although the framework of the system remained essentially the same—touring, preaching, initiation, etc.,—a subtle re-orientation was effected. A greater cohesiveness, in the hierarchical organisational structure, an increasing emphasis on political topics instead of the earlier socio-religious topics and a greater attention to para-military work—secret despatch of funds outside India and development of secret code for transmission of messages characterise the internal organisation of the Wahabis during this period.

All this work was directed by an elected *Khalifa* or Vicegerent of the Leader (Syed Ahmad) from the Headquarters in Patna, the famous '*Kafila*' as the Wahabis themselves described it in their secret code or the 'caravansarai for rebels and traitors' as Hunter the earliest English writer on the subject preferred to call it. The group of buildings constituting the Headquarters has thus been described by Hunter. "In the Mussalman quarter of the ancient city of Patna there is an alley called Sadikpur lane...on the left side of the alley there is a group of buildings in the Moorish style with considerable frontage and running back some distance from the lane...Around the mosque are the dwelling houses of the

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1. The subject has been studied in detail in my thesis on the Wahabi Movement which is expected to be published in due course. Here, owing to limited space, only the salient points have been dealt with.

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Priests and their *zanana* with a small *college for the students of the reformed theology, a hospice for pious travellers* and several little white shrines in which repose the bone of the Wahabi saints.[2]" A steady flow of volunteers for the war on the Frontier representing all walks of life, kept on pouring in this Headquarters from different parts of the country. Care was taken in the selection of the volunteers to the different type of work to which their educational qualifications and social status rendered them fit. Thus, while youths of high promise were given intensive training on the finer points of doctrines and for missionary work the men in humbler walks of life were 'hastily trained'[3] or given a sort of condensed course. Men of still humbler walks of life were also welcomed and having been put through a strict military training were sent forward to the front lines on the Frontier. The recruits while in Patna were under the charge of Abdul Ghaffar, one of the leaders of the Movement. He looked after the temporal administration of the Headquarters including the boarding and lodging of the volunteers. With the departure of each batch to the Frontier a fresh one was admitted and so the unending lines of volunteers continued.

Itinerant Preachers

The itinerant preachers were the linchpin of the internal organisation of the Wahabis. Bands of these preachers traversed all over the country spreading their message in the interiors and collecting funds for the Movement. These preachers took pains to see that there was nothing in their public teachings to excite the suspicion of the authorities. Their teachings were a guarded mixture of expounding the necessity for socio-religious reforms and that of the struggle against the "foreign rulers". They never gave any tangible evidence to the authorities for proceeding against them for "seditious preaching". On the contrary in one instance the Magistrate of Rajshahi went to the extent of asking a complainant against the "seditious activities" of a chief Wahabi preacher (Enayat Ali of Patar) to show cause as to why he should not be proceeded against for filing false complaint

2. Calcutta Review, Vol. XL (1864), pp 130-31. Italics are mine.
3. *Ibid.*

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against the preacher.[4] This happened in 1841-43 and in 1857 this very Enayat Ali was at the head of an independent principality of considerable income and strength on the N. W. Frontier, fighting against the English. In fact the persistent failure of the English authorities to glean the real significance of the ground work of these preachers upon which the 'superstructure of rebellion' was raised, is striking and has been severely criticised[5] both by Hunter and O'Kinealy, two early writers on the Movement.

Where the circumstances appeared favourable the moving missionary settled down as a village teacher or in some such avocation, married some local woman and selected some promising and sincere recruit for intensive training. Having done his work thoroughly he moved on, leaving behind the newly trained disciple to carry on his work. Thus the nucleus of a local unit or 'District Centre'[6] was formed. These 'District Centres' were spread all over Bengal and Bihar. It was owing to the ceaseless efforts of these District preachers that men and money kept on pouring from the interiors of the country to Patna and onward to the Frontier and without it the Wahabi campaigns on the Frontiers could not have been carried on for any length of time. Hunter has paid them an unconscious tribute when he remarked, "these (itinerant preachers) have enveloped the whole of Bengal in their meshes and converted many thousands of useful British subjects, first, into vagrant fanatics and then into bitter traitors to the Crown.[7]"

Collection of Funds

For purpose of collection of funds several villages were grouped into "fiscal circles" each under a tax collector.[8] Under him

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4. Calcutta Review, Vol. L (1870), p. 382.
5. *Ibid.* vols. XL and L.
6. For a detailed account of the working of a typical "District centre" see W. W. Hunter, Our Indian Mussalmans, London, 1871, pp. 82 ff.
7. Calcutta Review, Vol. XL, p. 133.
8. Hunter, *op. cit.* 82 ff.

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there were collectors for each village. Populous villages had, besides the tax collector, a chief priest who led the public prayers in the village mosque, a lay chief who was a sort of General Manager and a *Dāk Sirdār* whose duty was to arrange for the hazardous secret missions for transmitting money and letters out of the country.[9] The chief 'tax collector' made annual tours of his 'circles' to see that the due amounts had been collected. In between these tours he also received various amounts transmitted by local agents. He forwarded these amounts to Patna where a Ledger was maintained showing all such amounts received.[10]

Contributions to the Wahabi Fund could be made both in cash and kind. The following were the chief forms of contribution.[11]

(i) *Zakāt* : Being one of the obligatory duties of all Muslims, it is a sort of income tax levied at a fixed annual rate. Originally it was meant to be a sort of welfare fund out of which the needs of the indigents were met. The Wahabis, however, gave it a political orientation and used it to finance the war against the English.

(ii) Alms were also given by the devout both in cash and kind. The sale proceeds of the latter were collected and transmitted to Patna in consolidated amounts. The skins of goats and sheep sacrificed on the occasion of *Baqrid* were also collected, processed and sold.

(iii) Another levy of a universal kind was the *Muthia* system. Under it each household was treated as a unit and was expected to set aside a handful or *Muthia* of grain out of the daily quota of consumption for the common fund. These were gathered periodically and sent to the headquarters. Such small savings did not put any strain even on the poorest class of contributors and were an effective and unostentatious means of

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9. *Ibid.*
10. Selections from Govt. of Bengal Records, Vol. XLII. p. 74 ff.
11. *Ibid.* p. 131, 138, etc.

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collecting funds. In fact the system worked so successfully that we find leaders of other political parties, including the early Indian National Congress, advocating its adoption. Surendranath Bannerjee specially referred to the evolving of this system by the Wahabis and strongly advocated for its adoption by the Congress at a meeting held in Calcutta in July 1883 for considering ways and means to raise a Fund for financing the agitation for constitutional reforms.[12] Besides the regular levies special payments were also made on certain occasions like marriages, births, festivals, etc. These were known as *Khairāts*, *Ṣadaqa*, *Fitra*, etc. Large, and often anonymous, subscriptions were also frequently sent by the followers of the Movement in the country.

Transmission of Recruits and Funds

The organising of a system for transmitting the huge amounts thus collected, to the Frontier was a very difficult and dangerous task. It was in the devising of such a system that the Wahabi leaders of Patna and particularly Yahya Ali[13] excelled. He organised a chain of Wahabi "hospices" along the entire Trunk Road, each under the charge of a proven disciple. The ingenious and fool-proof method which stood the severest strain and worked smoothly till much later times has been described thus by Hunter : "The great North Road was divided into suitable sections and the Wahabi traitors on their way to our Enemy Camp on the N. W. Frontier journeyed in safety through strange provinces, in the full assurance that at the end of each stage, there, were friends on the lookout for their arrival. The Wahabi agents in charge of the hospices were men of diverse ranks of life *all devoted to the overthrow of the British Rule*[14] and each

12. Printed report of the Proceedings of National Fund Meeting, Calcutta, 1883 : Sen Prees, Calcutta, 1883.

13. Yahya Ali was one of the important leaders of the Movement from Bihar. For his work, described below, he was tried at Ambala in 1863 and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was transported to Andaman Island, where he died in 1868.

14. Calcutta Review, Vol. XL. p. 136.

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the head of a local committee of traitors. Yahya Ali must have displayed a very deep knowledge of human character in selecting these men for neither fear of detection nor hope of reward has induced a single one of them to appear against their leader in the hour of his[15] disgrace and at this moment although it is known that a chain of asylums, like that of Thanesar, connected Patna with the Punjab Frontier yet no one came forward and put his finger upon the particular spots."

These Secret Agents started their long and arduous journey from Patna. In order to lessen the weight of the assorted cash money, these were changed into Gold *Mohurs* (guineas). In this vital work of converting small coins into guineas the famous and wealthy hide merchants of Patna City, Amir Ali Khan and Hashmatdad Khan,[16] with their Agency in Calcutta, were of great assistance. The guineas were often sewn in the jacket or shoe or carried secretly on some other part of the body. The journeys of these Secret Agents were not always as safe and secure as Hunter's above description could have us believe. We know of one case[17] in which prior information leaked out about the route of one of the ace Wahabi agent, Pir Muhamad

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15. Hunter wrote this at the time when Yahya Ali's trial at Ambala (1863) had just concluded and he had been convicted.

16. Amir Khan and Hashmatdad Khan were brothers and members of a distinguished and old Pathan family of Patna City. Both were arrested, under emergency regulations, in 1869 for rendering financial assistance to Wahabis. They were kept in jail, without trial for over an year. Having contested this high handed action of the Govt. in a series of legal battles, which have made their cause celebre of its time, they were finally tried in 1871. Amir Khan was sentenced to life imprisonment but was soon afterwards released because of his extreme old age-he was over 80 years at the time. His brother was released.

17. G. R. Mehr, *Jamāti - Mujāhdin*. Vol. III, Lahore, 1955, pp. 91 ff.

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and Ranjit Singh's men were on the look-out for him. He eventually reached his destination after many hardships.

Another well established means of transmitting money was by Drafts[18] or *Hundies*. Cash money was deposited with Bankers in Delhi and Peshawar who made out drafts for their agents (grocers, money-lenders etc.) in the forward tribal areas. An interest of 12% was usually deducted as Bank commission on such transmissions. The rate charged was exhorbitant but there is hardly any instance on record of money being held up or mislaid in transmissian. It is a noteworthy fact that this vital work of transmitting money by Drafts was done mostly through Hindu Bankers. The names of the firms of Ram Kishun and Fatehchand and Manochar Das (Patna), Jagarnath and Mukund Lal (Delhi), Lalchand Karan Singh (Benaras), Samunt Rai and Sheo Bux and Santu and Moti (Frontier) may be mentioned[19] in this connection. Quite a few, if not all, of these bankers must have been aware that the transaction, in which they were participating, were not normal commercial ones, but had some deeper, possibly a dangerous purpose behind them. Merely the desire for earning some cheap money by way of commission cannot explain the participation of so many bankers in this dangerous work.

Special care was taken to look after these dependents. It is a remarkable testimony to the intergrity and sincerity of these Agents that there is not a single instance of their ever defaulting with a single pie of the huge amounts entrusted to them. Their travelling expenses were separately paid for and even when this was exhausted due to some unforseen emergency on the way (illness, holdups or arrests) they replenished it by doing odd mannual jobs and never drew upon the amount meant for transmisison.

Cyphers and Secret Codes.

An intricate system of code words[20] for secret messages and for acknowledging receipts of money was in use from the time of

18. Selections. Vol. XLII, pp. 51–54, 71 ff.
19. Mehr, op cit. p. 55; Selections, Vol. XLII, p. 71.
20. For the full list, see Selection's, Vol. XLII, p. 160.

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Syed Ahmad himself. As far as possible direct use of the names of the writers of letters and the addresses was avoided. Literary similes and religious allusions were used to convey secret meanings. The leaders of the Movement were never referred to by their names. Each had several set of aliases.[21] Some of the code words whose meanings were established during the course of the several Wahabi Trials (1863-1871) were *Khidmutgār*, *Beopārīs*, *Nar-gāo* and *Musāfirs* for the volunteers, *Muqaddama* for battles, *Bara* Godown for Frontier Principality, *Chota* Godown or *Kafila* for Patna Headquarters and embroidered shoe for Gold *Mohurs*. Remittance of money were spoken of as prices of books and the amounts referred to by the number of rosary beads. One cypher code used in a seized document during the Hyderabad Conspiracy case (1839) still remains to be decoded.[22]

It was this system of supply of men and money from India which kept the struggles of the Wahabis, on the Frontier, alive. And it was the accidental discovery[23] of this secret system in 1863 which led the Govt. of India, then chafing under the heavy blows inflicted on it during the Ambeyla campaign the most famous and powerful Wahabi campaign against the Govt. to devote all their resources to tracing out these "centres of seditions" inside the country and to seal them off.

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21. *Ibid.*

22. Secret Cons. No. 15 dated 12 June, 1839, App, B. The message in cypher, is as follows (the figures are in Arabic numerals).

81169	169161	161911	616961
11696	116966	161911	116961
116116	11611211	991169	169611

23. For details see Hunter, op cit, pp. 84–86.

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This was done during the course of a protracted series of painstaking and remarkably thorough police enquires throughout the country which laid bare much of the working system of the Wahabi leaders. The Wahabi Trials of 1863, 1865, and 1871 followed and the flow of aid was virtually stopped. Once this perennial flow of vital supplies from the fertile Gangetic plains was stopped the young sapling of the Wahabi principality shrivelled up on the hot barren rocks of the Frontier.

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SECTION IX: ARCHAEOLOLGY

President : Dr. G. R. Sharma

1. An interesting Panel from the Aurangabad Caves

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   Shri Balachandra Jain

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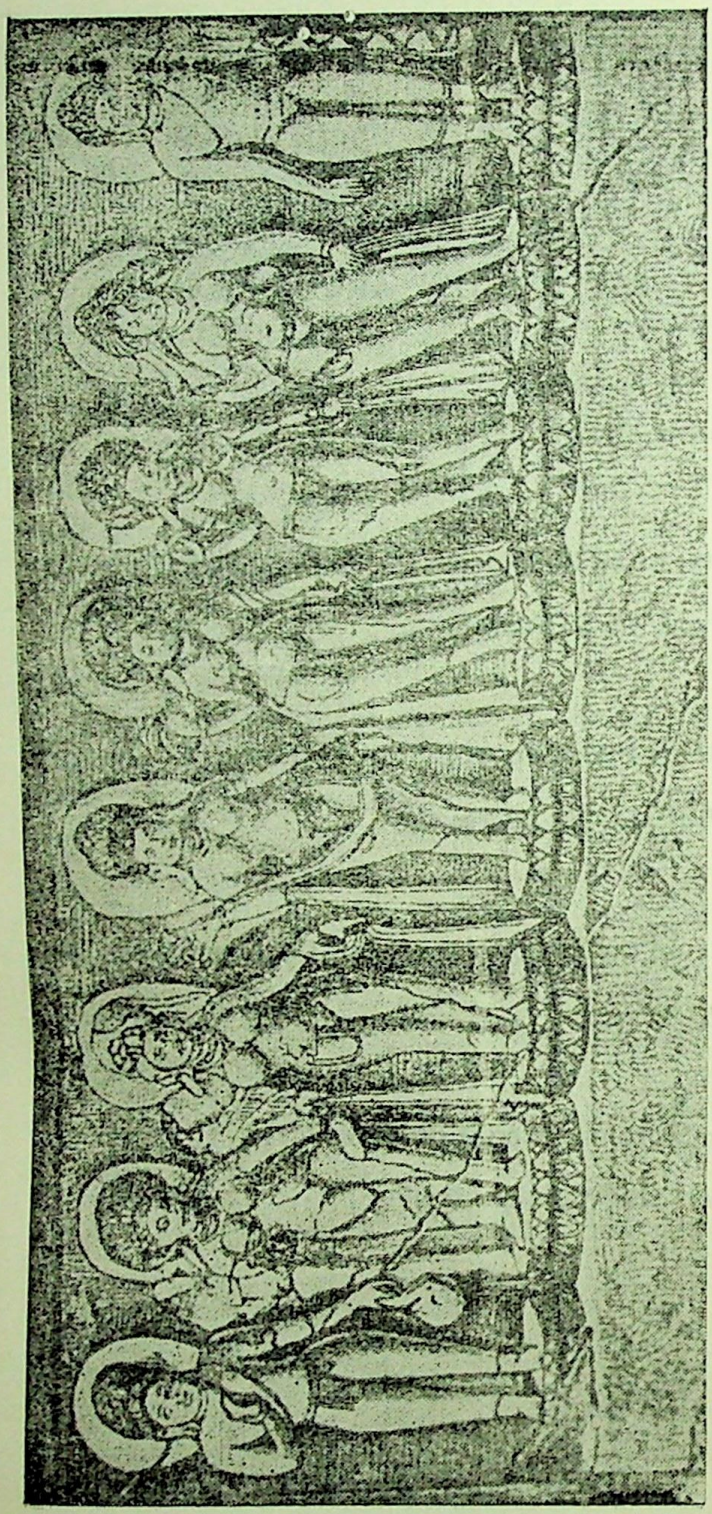

Panel from the Aurangabad Cave

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AN INTERESTING PANEL FROM THE AURANGABAD CAVES

Prof. R. S. Gupta, Aurangabad

The caves of Aurangabad were excavated in the second phase of architectural activity which began in the Western Deccan in the 5th century A.D. and continued till the 11th century A.D.

Some of the sculptures of the Aurangabad caves can be compared with the best of the Hindu sculptures of Ellora. Their architecture and image-sculpture would suggest that they were excavated during the 7th and 8th centuries (with the exception of the Hinayana chaitya, which was probably excavated in the 2nd century A.D.).

Cave No. 7 was probably excavated during the latter half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century A.D. On the back wall of the chamber are carved six female figures, standing on double-petalled lotuses. They are all two-handed. The first female figure stands reclined on her left foot holding a flower in her right hand. Her left hand is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. She wears two necklaces. Her head dress is very elaborate. The next female figure stands reclined on her left foot holding a flower in the right hand and the end of her lower garment in the other. She wears two necklaces and armlets. Her hair dress is interesting. The female figure next to her stands inclined on her left foot. In her left hand she holds the end of her lower garments while her right hand holds a flower. She wears two necklaces. The fourth female figure stands reclined on her right foot. She holds a flower in her right hand. Her left hand is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. The fifth female figure stands reclined on her right foot. The object in her right hand is broken. The left hand is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. The sixth female figure stands reclined on her right foot. The object in her right hand is broken. Her left hand is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. All these figures have aureoles behind their heads. Their coiffures are uniformly

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interesting. On the extreme right is a standing Buddha figure with its right hand in the *varada mudrā* and the left holding the end of the lower garment.

Douglass Barrett describes the Buddha as standing in the *abhaya mudrā* and says that the identity of the *female Bodhisattvas* is uncertain. (the italics are main). Burgess identified the *kamaṇḍalu* held by Padmapāṇi in his left hand as a bag. He does however say that the sculptures remind him of the Hindu *Mātṛgaṇas* and that the female figures might represent the *śaktis* of the Dhyāni Buddhas with Vajrasattva as the sixth Dhyāni Buddha.

No one seems to have yet made an attempt to examine the exact import of this panel which is unique in several respects. The male figure standing on the extreme left is unique in itself. Taken along with other figures it is all the more interesting. Here Padmapāṇi takes the form of Brahma-Lokeśvara. Many of these forms of Padmapāṇi show Brahmanical influence.

Sri R. Sengupta has located a figure of Brahma-Lokeśvara at Ellora. The caves of Aurangabad were being excavated at the same time as the caves of Ellora. It is not surprising therefore that they should have been influenced by the sculptural motifs of Ellora. What, however, is more interesting are the six female figures that are carved in between the figures of Brahma-Lokeśvara and Buddha. This seems to indicate Hindu influence. This panel reminds one very strongly of the *Saptamātṛkās* of Ellora. The Calukyas of Vatapikonda worshipped them and claimed that they were nourished by them.

It is important to note that some of the caves of Ellora and Aurangabad were excavated in the Calukya period. The Calukyas ruled in the Deccan from 542 A.D. to 753 A.D. Cave No. 14 of Ellora, popularly known as Ravan-ki-khai, was excavated in this period. This cave has a *Saptamātṛkā* panel in the *pradakṣiṇa* path. In cave No. 21, known as the Rameśvara cave, another *mātṛkā* panel is carved. The Kailasa also shows a *mātṛkā* panel in the *Yajñaśālā*. On the back wall of the *Yajñaśālā* the *mātṛkās* are carved in full relief. At Badami, at Aihole in the cave temple of Ravana-pharda, the *Saptamātṛkās* are flanked by the same

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deities. It is natural that the Buddhists who excavated these rock-cut shrines should have been influenced by the depiction of the *Śaktis* of the Hindu gods, at so near a site.

The worship of the feminine deities was alien to Mahayana till the 4th century, A.D. It was the Northern Buddhist school of Asaṅga that brought the worship of the feminine principle in the form of the goddess Tārā. The Buddhist pantheon was not developed before the Tantras got wide publicity, in the 7th century. The Dhyāni Buddhas got publicity only after the time of Śāntideva (695-730 A.D.). It is obvious, thefore, that the Śaktis of the Dhyāni Buddhas could not have been carved earlier than the latter half of the 7th or the earlier half of the 8th century.

It is possible of course that the Śaktis of the Dhyāni Buddhas might have been the result of Hindu influence. It is even possible that the artists employed at Cave No. 7 at Aurangabad may have been Hindus. It is possible that the Buddhists who lived under the Calukyas flattered them by imitation. This could be done by sculpturing a panel similar to that of the *Mātṛkās*, whom the Calukyas devoutly worshipped.

The Aurangabad panel shows six female figures standing in a row. They may be the Śaktis of the Dhayāni Buddhas or Tārās. I am inclined to hold they are *Śaktis*, the sixth being that of Vajrasattva as suggested by Burgess. The Buddhist *Śaktis* are very much similar and are therefore hard to distinguish.

When the Buddhists adopted the *Saptamātṛkā* motif they naturally modified it to suit their faith. In the process of this assimilation, Vīrabhadra, the war-god was replaced by Brahma-Lokeśvara, the Creator-Protector, for Brahma is a Creator and Padmapāṇi, a Protector. Gaṇeśa was replaced by the Buddha himself, who symbolises the wisdom of the Bodhi. The Hindu *Śaktis* are replaced by the Buddhist *Śaktis*. The panel therefore, shows unmistakable Hindu influence. The Buddhists started excavating *pradakṣiṇa* passages in imitation of the Hindus from 6th or 7th century onwards. This incidentally confirms our dating of the cave to the later half of the 7th or the

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earlier half of the 8th century A. D. The architecture and the image-sculpture supports this dating. The *pradakṣiṇa* passages seem to be a peculiarity of the Aurangabad Caves in the sense that they are more elaborately carved here than anywhere else.

The recently discovered cave at Aurangabad justifies our presumption. Firstly, it is the first Brahmanical cave discovered at this site. Secondly, it shows both Hindu and Buddhist sculptures.

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A NOTE ON FIVE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

Prof. G. H. Khare, Poona

I

Sinnar Plates of Ranaka Durgahasti of the Sendra Family, Śaka 701

The copper-plates in question have a bit of interesting story to tell. About two and a half years ago Shri. P. P. Vaishampayan and C.V. Kale of Nasik, two very enthusiastic connoisseurs of antiquities and other historical and cultural material, and friends of mine, showed me a photo-negative of a copper-plate from Sinnar (Nasik) which I at once recognised to be the first plate of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant. Six months after MM. D. V. Potdar entrusted to me a copper-plate from Sinnar for decipherment, on going through which, I found that it was the same copper-plate of which the negative was shown to me by my above-mentioned friends. In last April (1961) when I saw the Director of Archives, Maharashtra State, Bombay, I was fortunate to have a look at a set of three copper-plates, the decipherment of which showed that it is a complete grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period of which only the first plate and its photographic negative I had formerly seen. One Shevantābāī Dattū Khāndre of Sinnar first informed the Director, of the find of this set in the clearing of the courtyard of her house and subsequently handed it over to him. I am thankful to the Director of Archives for kindly allowing me to write this note on the plates.

The set consists of three plates measuring 26.5 cm. in length 18 c.m. in breadth and about 3 mm. in thickness. Unfortunately the ring of the set is missing and it appears that the lady either did not get it or she might have lost it. The inner side of the first and both the sides of the second as well as the third plates have been inscribed and the five sides contain 13, 12, 14, 13 and 10 lines respectively, thus making the whole writing consisting of 62 lines. Though the rims of the plates have been raised bothways to preserve the writing, rust has damaged them at a number of places.

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The script of the set resembles the script of other plates such as the Bhor Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, the Jeṭhavaī Plates of Śīlamahādevī, (wife of Dhruva) and others of the period. But the scribe appears to be not well-versed in his art and therefore it presents so many difficulties of decipherment. Had we not got the above-mentioned plates to help us, the decipherment would have been a very difficult job. It has become difficult in many places to differentiate between *ha* and *bha*, *pa* and *ya*, *dha* and *va*, *sa* and *ma*, etc. In the following instances the scribe having forgotten to engrave certain letters at their proper places has engraved them just below their appropriate places by engraving the sign plus where the particular letter or letters were to be inserted, as *Khi* in l. 8, *Jāla* in l. 16, *Kā* in l. 36 and *pāti* in l. 43. *Upadhmānīya* has been only once used in *pratāpa prasādhitā* l. 33.

Though the scribe appears to be not conversant with the art of engraving, he has committed comparatively less mistakes in engraving the draft. *Va* has been invariably used for *ba* and the consonant following *r* has been generally doubled; but there are a few exceptions. In the following instances *m* has been converted into *n* as in nityand° l. 4, dhairyantya° l. 27, gurvaīntu° l. 35, vartitavyanta l. 51. A number of letters have been deleted from the draft while engraving.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit, prose and poetry mixed.

The date of this grant as stated in line 46 is Śaka 701 and the day is the winter solstice or the Sun's entry into the zodiac of Capricorn. There being no further details of the date, it is not possible to verify it. Its Christian equivalent is roughly 22-12-778 or 779 A. D., according to the Śaka year taken as current or expired.

Besides the localities mentioned in the general portion of the grant such as Kañcī, Kerala and others, it contains the following place names:

Puṣpavaṭa=The place where Rāṇaka Durgahasti, the vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva had encamped while donating the village mentioned in the grant. Bṛhatpuṣkarikā (B. P.)= The village granted to the donee.

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Maṇipura	=	The village situated to the east of B. P.
Gaḍḍarihadrā	=	The village situated to the south of B. P.
Laghupuṣkarikā	=	The village situated to the west of B. P.
Śaṅkha	=	The village situated to the north of B. P.
Pratiṣṭhāna	=	The name of the province in which were situated the above-mentioned villages.
Ākāśavapra	=	The village from which the donee hailed.

About the identification of the places I can say this much :– Pratiṣṭhāna is the modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of Marathawada (Maharashtra). The word Puṣkarikā can be easily changed into Pokharī and there are a number of villages bearing the name Pokharī in the area lying within a radius of about 20 miles with the centre Paithan. The other villages remain unidentified at present as I was unable to get very detailed maps of the region round about Paithan. The words Bṛhat and Laghu prefixed to Puṣkarikā indicate that the two Puṣkarikās were situated very near to each other.

The purport of the grant was to donate the village Puṣkarikā, the greater, to a brāhmaṇ by name Vardhana, the son of Ujjvala and the grandson of Nāgabala. He hailed from the locality Ākāśavapra, was well-versed in the three Vedas in general, had specialised in the *Kaṭha* branch in particular and belonged to the *Kauśika* gotra. The donor is one Durgahasti who belonged to the Sendra family and who was a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva. It is, therefore, that the main portion of the plates is devoted to the description of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. Durgahasti donated the village on the date specified above. The charter was drafted by Baladeva, the minister for peace and war of the queen Śīlamahādevī who is known to be the wife of Dhruva from Jeṭhavaī Plates[1]. As the portion just mentioned is to be met with in the Bhor[2] and Pimpari[3] plates of Raṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva and Jeṭhavaī

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII. p. 93.
2. *Ibid.* p. 176 (Edited in English after my publishing them in the Marathi guide to the Bhor museum).
3. *Ibid.* Vol. X. p. 81.

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plates of his queen Śīlamahādevī which have been already published with detailed studies of them, it will be rather superfluous to dilate any more on these plates here. The only point worth noting, here is this: Pimpari plates dated Ś. 697 had been issued by Dhruva, these plates dated Ś. 701 had been issued, it seems, at the instance of Dhruva's queen and Bhor plates dated Ś. 702 had been again issued by Dhruva. It therefore, seems that Dhruva himself, for some reason or other, could not issue these plates and his queen had assumed his regal authority and ordered the issuing of these plates.

II

The following four sets of copper plates were found by one Smt. Chandrābāī alias Namiyā Pāṇḍuraṅga Nāktī of Dive Āgar (Shrivardhan, Kolaba, Maharashtra) buried to the South of her well in sub-survey No. 4, survey No. 88 in the above village and were handed over to me by Shri. B. M. Purandare, an enthusiastic friend of mine and a serious student of history for doing further work on them. I am very thankful to both of them for the favour done to me. I write here short notes on each of them and leave the full editing of the same for a later date.

(1) Grant of Gaṅga Durvinīta

The first set consists of five plates measuring 18 c.m. in length and 6 c.m. in breadth and 1½ mm. in thickness. The plates were woven into a circular ring 7 c.m. in diameter, the two ends of which had been soldered together in an oval seal measuring 5 and 3 c. m. in diameters and bearing the effigy of an elephant to the right. The inner sides of the first and the fifth, and both the sides of the remaining plates have been engraved and contain 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 6, 5, 5 lines of writing on them making the whole writing of 47 lines. The characters are of the Proto-Kannada type and resemble those of the sixth century. The language of the charter is Sanskrit prose except the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end.

This set belongs to a category of copper-plates and stone inscriptions said to have been issued by the early Gaṅga kings of

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Mysore, but which have been proved to be spurious ones by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet in his article on spurious Sūḍī plates published in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III, p. 158 and in note No. 1 to p. 301 of his work 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts' published in Bombay Gazette Vol. I, part II. Our plates are closely similar to Mallohalli grant (no. 6) of Durvinīta Koṅguṇivarman referred to by Fleet in his article mentioned above; but these refer to the 40th regnal year of that king coinciding with the cyclic year Jaya and give different names of the donee and the donated village. As this is a spurious charter, I do not wish to give more details about it here.

(2) Grant of Cālukya Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman II

The Second set consists of two plates measuring 27x17'5x1 c.m. in length, breadth and thickness. They were woven into a circular ring measuring 5·5 c.m. in diameter, the two ends of which had been soldered into an oval seal measuring 5 x 4 c.m. Within its raised rim it bears the streak of the Moon in the upper part, the legend *Dharāśraya* in very fine hand in the centre and a lotus in the lower part, all in high relief. The inner sides of both the plates have been inscribed containing (19+19) 38 lines of writing. On the outer side of the second plate are engraved at some later date, 14 letters in a very bad hand which I have been unable to decipher as yet. The engraver seems to have been a novice in his art as his engraving is devoid of fineness. He has written a number of letters in a variety of forms each. It has, therefore, become a very difficult job to decipher the whole inscription in a satisfactory manner. The language of the plates is Sanskrit prose except the benedictory and imprecatory verses. The date of the grant has been expressed by symbols which I have deciphered as 600 / 10– 1. As these have been preceded by the phrase *Śakakāle* ..., this number evidently refers to the years of Śaka era. The month Vaiśākha and the 6th day without specifying the fortnight have also been mentioned. If my decipherment is correct and if the Śaka year is taken as expired, its Christian equivalent will be 689 and if the 6th day is taken to be of the bright fortnight, the corresponding Christian date would be 31-3-689 A.C. approximately.

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Padikā and Talāvallikā are the only two localities mentioned in the grant. Padikā was the name of the district in which was included Talāvallikā, the village granted. I am unable to identify the former at this stage, while there are five Talāvalīs (2 in the Alībāg, 1 in the Jañjirā, and 2 in the Rohe Taluqs of the Kolaba district) and the same are neither far away from each other nor from the find-spot of the plates. Any of these will suit us, as long as perhaps the Padikā district has not been identified.

The charter purports to donate the village Talāvallikā for the worship of the goddess known by her general name Kātyāyanī, repairs to its temple, etc. by Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha-varman of the Cālukya family, His pedigree is given thus: In the Cālukya pamily Kīrtivarman; his son Pulakesin; his elder son Vikramāditya, his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman, his son Vinayāditya, Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasarāja; his son Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman II. This last person donated the village. Nāgadeva, the son of.....bhaṭṭa and the minister for peace and war drafted the grant. These plates shed much welcome light on this branch of the Cālukya dynasty but I postpone its discussion till the fuller editing of the plates.

(3) Grant of Śīlahāra Chittarāja of Thāṇā, S. 949

The third set consists of three plates measuring 14'5 x 9' 7 x ·2 c. m. in length, breadth and thickness. The plates were woven into a circular ring 3'5 in diameter, the two ends of which had been soldered into a circular seal 4 c.m. in diameter bearing the effigy of a sitting *Garuḍa* to the front with his hands folded in adoration. The inner sides of the first and the third and both the sides of the second plates have been engraved and the whole writing consists of (12+14+12+11) 49 lines.

The characters of the plates belong to the southern variety of the Nagarī script of the tenth century of the Śaka era. It is very difficult to differentiate between *pa* and *ya*, between *cha* and *tha*, in a few cases between *bha*, *sa*, *ha*, and between *tta*, *nta* and *tra* also. *Ba* has been invariably replaced by *va*. The language of the grant is Sanskrit prose and verse. The engraver seems to be careless, as he has committed some very palpable mistakes in the engraving. The date of the grant is given both in words and

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numbers as Śaka 949, the cyclic year Prabhava, Monday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month Pauṣa and the winter solstice. According to the southern system of reckoning, the cyclic year Prabhava coincided with the expired Śaka year 949 and the winter solstice of that year fell on Sunday the dark 9th of Pauṣa. But Monday can have the 11th as the 10th ended at 13-10 hours after mean sunrise on that day. The Christian equivalent for Monday is 25-12-1027 A.C.

Out of the localities mentioned in this grant Tagara is evidently Ter in the Usmānābād district of Maharashtra, Dīpakāgara is undoubtedly Dive Āgar the village where this set of plates was found and Velāsivāgara is most probably the village Velās just three miles to the north of Dive Āgar. No other localities worth identifying have been mentioned in the plates.

The object of the charter is to record a donation. The pedigree of the king who gave the grant is given thus: (1) Jīmūtaketu; (2) his son Jīmūtavāhana; (3) in his family Kapardin, the first; (4) after him Pulasati or Pullaśakti as he is termed in other records; (5) his son Kapardin, the second; (6) his son Vappuvanna; (7) after him Jhañjharāja; (8) his brother Goggirāja; (9) after him Vajjaḍa; (10) his son Mārtaṇḍadeva or Aparājita as he is called elsewhere; (11) then Vajjaḍa; (12) his brother Keśideva; (13) Vajjaḍa's son Cchittarāja. This Cchittarāja in Śaka year 949, the cyclic year Prabhava and on Monday the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month Puṣya (Pauṣa) and on the day of the winter solstice, gave to the great brāhman Govinda, (the son of Sauvapaiya and Mandarā), the resident of Dīpakāgara, of the Kāśyapa gotra and the student of Ṛgveda, twenty *drammas* from the revenue realisation of the village, already presented by the general Nāgavarman residing at Velasiva. The grant was drafted by Joupaiya, the nephew of Nāgalaiya, the great poet and the royal treasurer.

(4) Grant of Śilāhāra Mummuṇī of Ṭhāṇa, S. 975

The fourth charter consists of only one plate measuring 33·3 x 24 x ·3 c.m. It has a hole near the upper rim. But neither the ring was found nor the purpose of the hole can be ascertained as the charter is quite complete in one plate. The writing consists of

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17 lines and the script is akin to the foregoing charter with practically the same peculiarities. The date of the charter as indicated both by words and numbers is Śaka 975, the cyclic year Vijaya and the fifth of the dark fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha. The cyclic year Vijaya coincides with Śaka 975, expired. But as no weekday is mentioned it is not possible to verify the date. Its Christian equivalent is 5-7-1053 A. C. Tagara, Dīpakāgara, Vorivalī, Kavita and Kālaija, are the five places mentioned in the grant. Out of these Tagara is undoubtedly the modern Ter (Usmanabad), Dīpakāgara and Vorivalī are evidently Dive Āgar, where the charter was found and Borlī Pañchatan which is only a mile to the east of Dive Āgar and Kālaija is in all probabilty represented by modern Kālinja about 10 miles to the south of Borlī. Kavita remains unidentified.

The purport of the charter is to record the adjustment of govenment dues from the last four villages mentioned above. The Sīlāra prince Mummuṇi, a younger brother of Cchittarāja of the third set endowed with a number of conventional attributes, in the presence of Kamaṇeya, the chief minister, Viṭhapai Nāyaka the minister for peace and war, Vāsudeva Upādhyāya and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, the priests, Divākara, the astrologer, Joupaiya, the minister in charge of stores, Ṭhhākureya, another minister for peace and war, Cācapaiya, the chief of the second *sepāṭī* and..... ....., laid down rules for executing the certain arrangements made by Bāladevī formerly. The charter was drafted by the above-mentioned Joupaiya.

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A NOTE ON THE NAVAGRAHA SLAB OF THE TEMPLES OF ORISSA

P. Acharya, Baripada, Orissa

Ramaprasad Chanda, the then Superintendent of Archaeological section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, was the first to draw notice of scholars to the names of planets inscribed on the architrave of the door of the sanctum of Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar (*vide Annual Administration Report, Archaeological Survey of India 1923-24*). It was subsequently reported by R. D. Banerji (*vide History of Orissa* Vol. II. p. 340). Dr.K.C.Panigrahi in 1947-48 discovered the inscription on the graha-slab of Śatrughneśvara temple for the first time and credit goes to him that he assigned the date of Paraśurāmeśvara and Śatrughneśvara temples on palaeographic grounds in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. (*vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. XV. pp. 109-118).

The graha-slab of Paraśurāmeśvara and Śatrughneśvara temples, the earliest temples so far known in Orissa, contains the images in human form of 8 grahas on which there are inscriptions giving the names of *grahas* namely 1. Āditya, 2. Soma, 3. Aṁgirasa, 4. Budha, 5. Bṛhaspati, 6. Śukra, 7. Śanaiscara and 8. Rāhu.

In the *Navagraha-paddhati* there are vedic verses attributed to 9 planets which are commonly found in astrological books. I have not been able to consult the work on *Jyotiṣa* belonging to the *Vedāṅga* period and so I am unable to give the date of the a origin of *Navagrahas*. But Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* is work of the 6th century A.D. and it allots one chapter each to the nine planets namely 1. Āditya, 2. Candra, 3. Rāhu, 4. Bhauma, 5. Budha, 6. Bṛhaspati, 7. Śukra, 8. Śanaiścara and 9. Ketu. Varāhamihira has assigned the third position to Rāhu and the nineth position to Ketu but now a days and since 7th century A.D. Rāhu is allotted the eighth position and Ketu the last.

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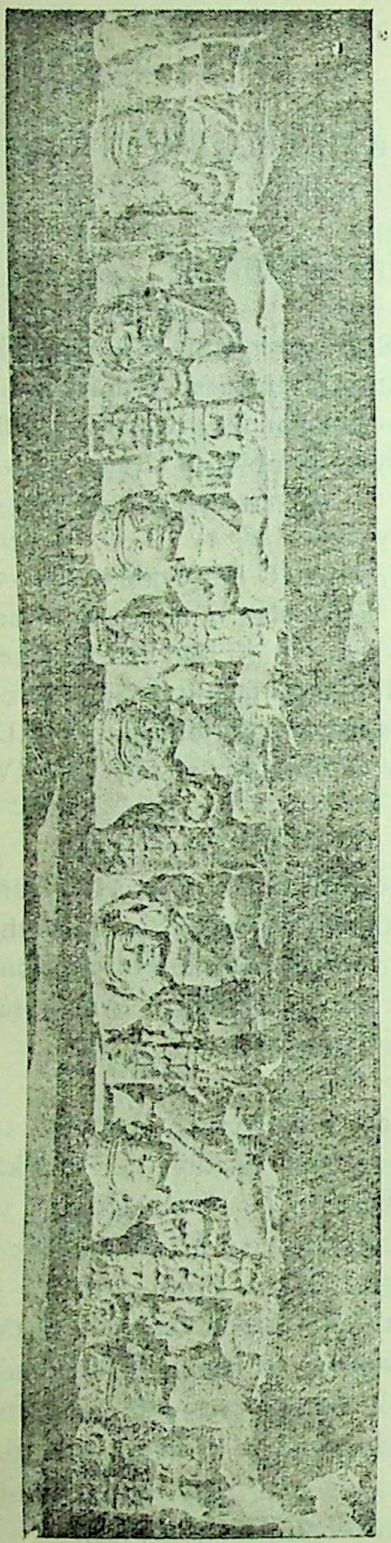

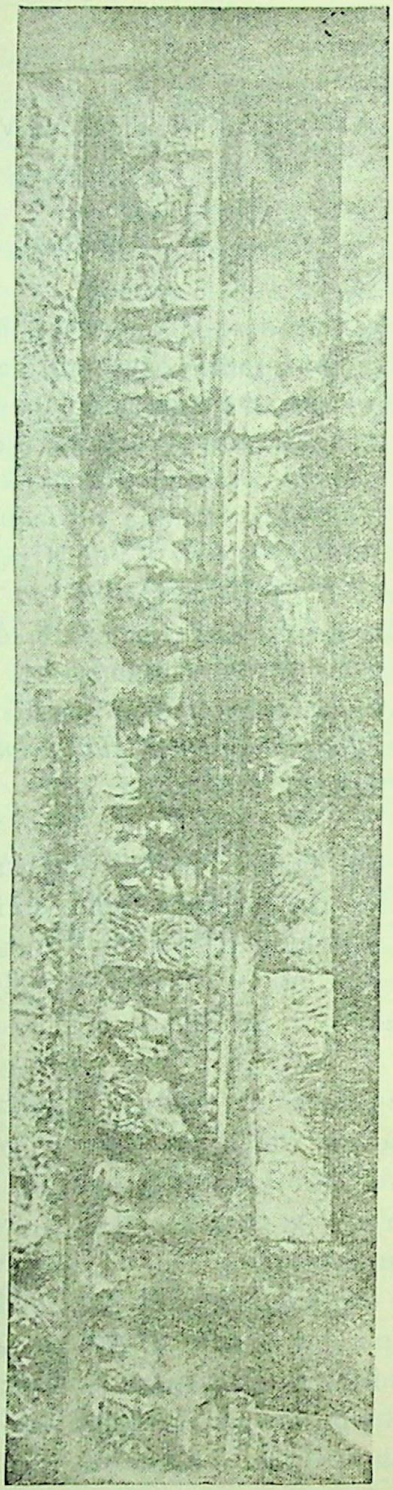

Navagraha Slabs from the Temples of Orissa.

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In the Paraśurāmeśvara and Śatrughneśvara temples the planet Ketu is absent and Rāhu occupies the eighth position. Although we find earlier reference to nine planets in Varāhamihira, it is not clear as to why the Śilpins or architects of the temples deviated from the tradition of literature in these two temples of Bhubaneswar. This deviation is perhaps due to the astrological calculation of the period of life according to the system of *Aṣṭottari* (108 years) and *Viṁśottari* (120 years) which was then popular in the country. In the *Aṣṭottari* system Ketu is absent whereas in the *Viṁśottari* system Ketu finds a place among *grahas*. The conception of eight *grahas* in the decoration of these early temples of Orissa may be due to the popularity of *Aṣṭottari* system in the 7th century A. D. and not the *Viṁśottari* one according to Varāhamihira which perhaps became popular in the subsequent period. In the Mukteśvara temple of Bhubaneswar, the date of which is generally given as the middle of the 10th century A.D. we find the full set of Navagrahas, the representation of which in the Orissan temples continued up to the middle of the 13th century A.D. when the Koṇārka temple was built.

Mrs. Deval Mitra, the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, reports in the guide book entitled "*Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*" 1960, that in the cave 10 of Khaṇḍagiri, there are two Tīrthaṁkara images of Ṛṣabhanātha carved on the back wall of the cave and in the two sides of the images are carved eight *grahas* (p. 60). In the cave 9 of the Khaṇḍagiri there are two chlorite images of Ṛṣabhanātha belonging to the same art tradition as that of the cave 10, the back-slab of which contains Aṣṭagrahas also. The date of cave 10 falls in the latter half of the 11th century A.D. The dates of the temples of Mukteśvara, Rājārāṇī and Liṅgarāja of Bhubaneswar are earlier to that of the cave 10 of Khaṇḍagiri, but the date of the Brahmeśvara temple is contemporary with that of cave 10. The cave 10 is contemporary with cave 11 which contains an inscription recorded in the 5th regnal year of the Somakuli King Udyotakesari Deva and the Brahmeśvara temple was built by the mother of Udyotakesari Deva in his 18th regnal year. The Jaina images contain Aṣṭagrahas whereas the Brahmeśvara temple contains Navagrahas. The only explanation of this difference is that the Jainas followed the popularity of Aṣṭagraha to the *Aṣṭottari* system

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of calculation in *Jyotisa* whereas the followers of the Brahmanic faith adopted the *Viṁśottari* system. The Navagraha slab of the Koṉārka temple proves that Brahmanic art tradition continued in Orissa much longer.

Navagrahapūjāpadhati gives description of images of grahas, the main features of which are given below, but in the lithic representation we miss most of these attributes.

1. Ravi has two hands holding the lotus-stalk and has a *ratha* drawn by seven horses.
2. Candra has two hands holding *gadā* and *varadamudrā* and has a *ratha* drawn by ten horses.
3. Maṅgala has four hands holding sword, *śakti*, *gadā* and *varada*, with the vehicle the ram.
4. Budha has four hands holding sword, shield, *gadā* and *varada* with the vehicle, the lion.
5. Bṛhaspati has four hands holding *Daṇḍa*, *Akṣasūtra*, *Kamaṇḍalu* and *varada* with the vehicle the swan.
6. Śukra has four hands holding *Daṇḍa*, *Akṣasūtra*, *Kamaṇḍalu* and *varada* with the vehicle the frog.
7. Śani has four hands holding bow and arrow, *śūla* and *varada* with the vehicle the vulture.
8. Rāhu has four hands holding sword, shield, *śūla* and *varada* with the vehicle the *makara*.
9. Ketu has two hands holding *gadā* and *varada* with the vehicle the vulture.

The images of grahas carved in the slabs of the door in the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara etc. are small ones and those on the sides of Jaina images are smaller still. In the representation of the planets of the Navagraha slab (nearly 20' x 4' x 4') of Koṉārka which is the best specimen of its kind, we find that with the exception of Rāhu all other grahas are carved in human form aving only two hands each, are seated cross-legged with the exception of Ketu. The image of Ravi holds two lotus stalks

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and the images Candra, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Ketu show *varada mudrā* in the right hand and hold a vase in the left hand. The image of Rāhu is represented by his head and hands only, the right hand holding the cresent moon and there is a vase in the left hand. In these images we miss the plurality of hands in the case of Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu and so also, the weapons and vehicles of all the 9 planets. Ketu has no legs and he sits on the coils of a snake. The face of Rāhu is hedious and that of Bṛhaspati has a long beard. All other grahas have got clean faces.

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RAIPUR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF ŚIVADEVA

Shri Balchandra Jain, Raipur

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper is now deposited in the Mahant Ghadidas Memorial Museum, Raipur. It is said to have come from Durg, headquarters of the district of same name in the Raipur Division of Madhya Pradesh. Major General Alexander Cunningham saw this inscription in the Raipur Museum in the year 1881–82 and published its eye-copy in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* volume XVII, Plate II. He thought it highly probable that the ancient name of Durg, situated on the eastern bank of the river Seonath, 25 miles to the west of Raipur, must have been Śivadurgga as there is a mention of Sivapura and Śivadurgga in the present record.[1] The inscription was also referred to in Cousen's Report[2] and noticed by Raibahadur Dr. Hiralal in his *List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*[3] where it has been named as the Durg Stone Inscription. But the text of the epigraph remained unpublished so far.

The inscription is incised on a yellowish sandstone slab measuring 94 cm. in length and 54 cm. in height. It contains twelve lines of writing excluding the one in bold letters at the bottom of the record. The inscription is much damaged and its right portion seems to have been broken away. Number of letters appearing in the eye-copy of Cunningham are now lost.

The *Characters* are *Nāgarī* of the 8th century A. D., and are similar to those of the Sirpur Gandheśvara temple inscription partly buried under one of the pillars of the porticos.[4] The *language* is Sanskrit and except for the bottom line, the record is metrically composed throughout. The verses are not numbered. As regards *orthography*, a consonant preceding or following *r* is doubled in some cases.

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1. ASR. Vol. XVII, pp. 3–4.
2. Second edition No. 232, p. 136.
3. Year 1904, p. 48.
4. ASR. Vol. XVII, p. 27 (E), plate XX.

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The inscription is not dated, and if there was any date, it is now lost, the record being damaged at several places. It opens with adoration to Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣottama and mentions in line 1 a king named Śivadeva. Lines 2 and 3 refer to the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu standing in the mango-grove. The temple with its number of mansions looked in shape like the peak of the mountain Kailāsa. People doubted whether the same had been built by the Creator (Brahmā) himself through his *Māyā*. There is a mention of Śivapura and Śivadurgga in line 5 while line 6 refers to a village named Jalakoika which was probably granted for the maintenance of the above-mentioned temple of Viṣṇu. The inscription further mentions another village (name lost) situated in the Kikkiḍḍābhoga. It was also granted for the care of the same temple and as we know from line 10, the revenue of the second village was utilised in providing shelter and medicines etc. to the visitors. The name of Devanandi is read in line 12.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village named Jalakoika by king Sivadeva for the maintenance of the temple built by himself. The grant was made by him for his own merits. The village of the Kikkiḍḍābhoga was granted for the provisions for the visitors.

King Śivadeva cannot be identified for the present but he may be the same as Śivanandi of the Sirpur Gandheśvar temple inscription. Characters of the present record and the quality of the stone on which it is incised are both similar to those of the above mentioned Sirpur Record. Again, the name of Devanandi occurs in the Sirpur River Gateway Inscription now deposited in the Raipur Museum. The present record thus appears to have belonged to the successors of the famous king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of South Kosala.

Among the geographical names, Śivapura and Śivadurgga can be identified with Durg. The modern village of Kohaka, 6 miles northeast of Durg possibly represents the gift village of Jalakoika while Kikkiḍḍā remains unidentified.

१. .....नारायण[:]वंदितो राजा[:]श्री शिवदेवः कस्य-भारा-वतु भो देवा।
निर्गत्य प्रथ.....तु.....स्थिता मती ?

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२. ज्ञकः सुकृतिना - यो- मापादितः चूतारामे रम्ये शेखर...
वयो यमुच्चकैर्माति [।] जयति जितदान[वे] न्द्रः...
पुरुषोत्तमी देव[:] ।.....

३. निरूपितमिदं देवकुलं वैष्णवं [भक्त्या] ॥ [कैलास] शिखरा-
कारा रम्या प्रासादमालिकः अपूर्व्वं वेधसा [मन्ये]
चित्रं मायेव निर्म्मित[म्] ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य

४. कुगतिपथानः.....चातिकष्टां सुकृतफलं च विचार्य
राज्ञस्त - सुजनकृता परकी [र्तयो] न लोप्या[:] पद-
वाक्यप्रमाणानि विवेक.....

५. त्रिशूलाग्रहताशेषदैत्येन्द्र कुलसन्तति[:] ॥
शिवदुर्गे शिवपुरे सम्बद्धा[:]लोक वन्दिता[:] । तथा शिव गणपति
[र्म्म]दलेखांकिताननः तद्ग्रन्थलुब्धमत्त-

६. खण्डा साधुद्विजसंस्कारणो प्रतिपादितः जलकोइकारव्यो(?)
ग्रामो यमाद्यं पुण्याभिवृद्धये.....रम्भानुदेवस्य शिवदेवस्य
भूपते वि [दि] तो द्धर्मसदाव.....

७. मिव ॥ तस्य परिरक्षणार्थे किक्किडाभोगमध्यगो ग्रामः
प्रतिपादितः.....क्त्या च.....

८. प्रणीता भक्तितस्सदा ॥ किक्किडाभोगभोगीयो सकलक
.....क्त्या.....राज्ञः श्री शिव.....

९. तिदण्डानो.....पत्तिनः शुभन्तदा चिदा - न्तिनि.....

१०. .....प्रति - ते.....णा भक्ताच्छादन मौषधादिनय.....

११. .....द्वि.....दस.....यजो.....

१२. .....व.....व्य.....[देवनन्दिणा] सम्मो.....

१३. श्री.....

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SECTION X: INDIAN LINGUISTICS

President: N.G. Kalelkar

1. The *Nirukta* and Patañjali
   V. Swaminathan

2. Some un - Pāṇinian forms in the Śrauta - sūtras
   P. D. Nawathe

3. Transference of Stems in Epic Nominal Declension
   Dr. Sibani Das Gupta

4. Some peculiar words from the *Bṛhatkathākośa*, a linguistic study
   Dr. V. G. Rahurkar

5. Pronominal suffixes in Sindhi
   Lachman Khubchandani

6. SORA: Loans in Oriya
   Prof. Siddheshwar Hota

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THE NIRUKTA AND PATANJALI

V. Swaminathan, Tirupati

Nirukta and Vyākaraṇa are counted among the Vedāṅgas or auxiliary subjects associated with the study of the Vedas. Even from very ancient times their importance in Vedic exegesis was fully realised and they were even considered as indispensable aids for a correct study and thorough understanding of the Vedic lore. Yāska and Patañjali, the expounders of the respective sciences, shared in this generally prevailing view about the place assigned to them in the field of Vedic studies and each of them advocates the study of his own subject mainly as an aid to the study of the Vedic texts. All the ancient Vedic commentators, without exception, have fully availed themselves of whatever assistance they could derive from the *Nirukta*. Even to modern linguists a study of the *Nirukta* and Vyākaraṇa has its own advantage not only as aids to Vedic study but as guides in studying the principles of language and linguistic problems. And the works of Yāska and Patañjali hold a unique position in a study of the evolution of linguistic speculations in ancient India.

The sphere of Yāskā's *Nirukta* is confined to the Vedic words alone. The main object of the *Nirukta* is to present the etymologies of Vedic words and only a very small number of secular words outside the Vedic literature that come accidentally by way of explanation are dealt with. Vyākaraṇa however has a wider scope. Patañjali considers the derivation of both secular and Vedic words as the object of Vyākaraṇa. केषाम् शब्दानाम्? लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च[1]. Pāṇini, in fact, composed his grammar for the secular language noticing then and there the peculiarities of the Vedic language as special cases and deviations from the normal. The *Nirukta* has less claims to be a secular science. Vyākaraṇa takes within its purview only those words that can be analysed and whose formation accounted for by the regular operation of linguistic laws. Words that remain obscure in

1. *Mahābhāṣya (M.B.)* Vol. I. pp. 9-10. N.S. Edn.

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regard to their origin are noticed but not dealt with in this manner. The *Nirukta* on the other hand treats the etymologies of obscure and recondite words. On this account Yāska proclaims that the *Nirukta* (*N*) completes the aim and function of Vyākaraṇa in addition to its own. तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यम्, स्वार्थसाधकं च[2]।

In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, a work truly styled as a store house containing the germs of all sciences, सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने,[3], the influence of Yāska is clearly perceptible. Patañjali accepts, in toto, the four-fold classification of words as enunciated by Yāska, चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च.[4] Pāṇini's two-fold classification of words into सुबन्त and तिङन्त, which has only a technical value and utility does not appeal to Patañjali. Patañjali's definitions of these four types of words as well as the linguistic notions in connection with them more or less agree with those of Yāska. The explanations on some of the Vedic passages cited in the *Paspaśāhnika* in order to glorify the benefits *resulting* from the study of Vyākaraṇa are mere echos of those on the corresponding passages of the *Nirukta*[5]. In the case of several words Patañjali simply repeats the etymologies given in the

2. *N*. I. 15
3. *Vākyapadīya* II. 485
4. *N*. I. 1; *M.B*. Vol 1. p 37
5. Taking these passagess of the *Mahābhāṣya* as direct quotations from the Nirukta, scholars have argued for and against the possibility of relying upon the *Mahābhāṣya* for the textual criticism of the *Nirukta*. Dr. Skold had even gone to the extent of postulating a third recension, in addition to the existing two, of the *Nirukta* on the ground that some such passages differ from the corresponding passages of both the recensions. Writers of a later age are bound to be influenced by those of an earlier age and set phrases and idioms are also bound to make their way, involuntarily, into the writings of the later author. There is nothing positive to take these passages as actual quotations. As such there is no necessity either to rely on them for textual criticism or to presume a third recension.

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Nirukta. That Patañjali was acquainted with the *Nirukta* as a science in general and Yāska's *Nirukta* and its commentaries in particular is fully borne out by the following.

निरुक्तं व्याख्यायते[6]

नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च। न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके[7]

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्.[8]

Sometimes both of them quote the very same Vedic passage to explain a certain linguistic phenomenon.

Yāska is a strong advocate of the theory of radical origin of all nouns, that constitute the material of language. To him there is nothing in a language that does not admit of analysis or derivation. He vehemently refutes the criticisms levelled against the theory of radical origin of nouns and reinstates the view of the promulgator of the the theory, Śākaṭāyana with whom he agrees fully. All words are capable of formal as well as semantical analysis and as such no etymologist should leave any word without tracing it to its source; grammatical laws might be even ignored as they are doubtful. Meaning should be the main criterion in giving the etymologies of words. न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात्। न संस्कारमाद्रियेत। विशयवत्यो हि वृत्तयो भवन्ति[9]। अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत केनचिद्वृत्तिसामान्येन[10]. Patañjali does not believe in the theory of verbal origin of all nominal stems. Many nominal stems in the language refuse, according to him, any formal analysis; these he calls अव्युत्पन्न शब्द s. All words derived by the Uṇādi sūtras are अव्युत्पन्न. Patañjali divides nominal stems under four heads, based on their connotation –a universal, quality, action and signification by mere convention or accidence. चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः–जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः[11]. The first three divisions will be comprehended under the third, in Yāska's scheme of classification; Yāska makes no provision for

6. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 210.
7. *N.* I. 12.
8. *M. B.* Vol. III p. 216.
9. *N.* II. 1
10. *N.* II. 1
11. *M. B.* Vol. I. p. 90.

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the fourth category, यदृच्छाशब्दाs the existence of which is obvious in any language. Yāska, however, recognises the presence of imitation-sounds अनुकरणशब्दs as a contributing factor to the vocabulary. काक इति शब्दानुकृतिः तदिदं शकुनिषु बहुलम्[12]. Of course there were extremists like Aupamanyava who dogmatically denied the existence of imitation-sounds. न शब्दानुकृतिर्विद्यत इत्यौपमन्यवः[13]. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali have not only taken note of them but have dealt with them and framed rules regarding their use in language. All these three grammarians being fully aware of the unsoundness of the theory of verbal origin of all nouns, accept the non-derivability of certain nouns. Whenever the formation of a word cannot be adequately accounted for by the operation of the rules of grammar, Patañjali does not hesitate to say that the word under consideration is not analysable. उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि[14] *i. e.* The Uṇādi words are not traceable to regular roots and suffixes; or in other words they are irregular formations. Pāṇini employs the word बहुल in उणादयो बहुलम् III. 3.1. to indicate the irregular nature of the Uṇādi formations as he does in व्यत्ययो बहुलम् III. 1.85 etc. The meaning of बहुल 'irregular application' has been embodied in the well known *Kārikā*, क्वचित्प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव। शिष्टप्रयोगाननुसृत्य लोके विज्ञेयमेतत् बहुलग्रहे तु॥ While explaining III. 3. 1 Patañjali observes that the Uṇādi words are irregular formations developed from only a limited number of roots and as such they cannot be brought within the purview of grammatical rules. तन्वीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः उणादयो दृश्यन्ते.....न सर्वाणि लक्षणेन परिसमाप्तानि[15]. It is only with a view to sanction correctness for Vedic and conventional words that the Uṇādi formations are admitted into Pāṇini's system नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु[16]. In the case of words which cannot be traced to well known roots and as suffixes, one must guess the suffix, where the root could be identified from analogical formations and the root, where

12. *N.* III. 18
13. *N.* III. 18
14. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 277 etc.
15. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 215.
16. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 215

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the suffix could be identified from analogical formations. अथ यस्य विशेषपदार्थो न समुत्थितः कथं तत्र भवितव्यम्?.....प्रकृतिं दृष्ट्वा प्रत्यय ऊहितव्यः प्रत्ययं दृष्ट्वा च प्रकृतिरूहितव्या[17]. It clearly follows from this that Patañjali considers the derivations of the Uṇādi words as merely speculative.

With this general preliminary survey of the attitudes of Yāska and Patañjali towards language, words and theories on the origin of words we shall proceed to discuss the etymologies of words dealt with in their works. Patañjali incidentally gives the etymologies of a good number of words; but here we are concerned only with those that have been dealt with by Yāska also. The words are arranged under separate heads for the sake of convenience.

I

Regarding the etymologies of the following words both Yāska and Patañjali are in perfect agreement, phonetical as well as semantical.

आस्य (*N*.I.9). Yāska traces आस्य 'mouth' to अस् 'to throw' or आ and स्यन्द् 'to flow'. अस्यतेः, आ स्यन्दत एतदन्नमिति वा 'that which throws out' (sounds) or 'that into which food flows'.

Patañjali: अस्यन्त्यनेन वर्णानित्यास्यम्, अन्नमेतदास्यन्दत इति वास्यम्[18].

कक्षीवान् (*N*. VI. 10), name of a seer is traced, by Yāska, to कक्ष्या with the possessive suffix वत्. कक्ष्यावान्.

Patañjali offers the same derivation with the condition that samprasāraṇa takes place in कक्ष्या only if the word is the name of कण्व; otherwise it is कक्ष्यावान्.

कण्वः कक्षीवान्। संज्ञायामिति किमर्थम्? कक्ष्यावान् हस्ती[19].

जार (*N*. III. 16; X. 21) is traced to जॄ 'to wear out' or 'to become old'. रात्रेर्जरयिता, जरयिता कन्यानाम्.

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17. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 216
18. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 215
19. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 49

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Patañjali : जरयन्तीति जाराः, जीर्यन्ते तैजराः[20].

तर्कुः (*N.* II. 1) 'a knife' is traced to कृत् 'to cut' with metathesis कृतेस्तर्कुः

The *Mahābhāṣya* reads only तर्क. In that case कृत् might mean to cut words in an argument or debate'. कृतेस्तर्कः[21].

तृचः (*N.* II. 1) 'a triad of Ṛks' is given by Yāska as an illustration of the loss of two letters. अथापि द्विवर्णलोपस्तृच इति.
ie. त्रि + ऋच्; the र् and इ in त्रि are elided and hence the form तृच.

Patañjali accounts for तृच from the same words, but in a different manner ऋचि त्रेः संप्रसारणम्.....उत्तरपदादिलोपः छन्दसि[22]. र in त्रि gets samprasāraṇa and ऋ in ऋच् is lost. The usage is also restricted to the *Vedas*; elsewhere it would be ऋच.

दूढ्यः (*N.* V. 23). Yāska traces दूढ्यः 'of the evil-minded' the genitive of दूढी to दुस् 'evil' and धीः 'mind', a root-stem from ध्या to 'think' or 'see'. दूढ्यः दुर्धियः पापधियः

Patañjali resolves दूढ्य into दुस् and ध्यः, which according to Kaiyaṭa is a *nomino agentis* derived from ध्या when compounded with a preposition, दुष्टं ध्यायतीति आतश्चोपसर्गे इति कः. But Patañjali might have as well meant the genitive of धी itself by ध्यः in the rule दुरो दाशनाशदभध्येषु उत्त्वं वक्तव्यम्[23].

धन (*N.* III. 9) 'wealth' is traced to धि 'to please' धनं कस्मात् धिनोतीति सतः 'that which pleases'

Patañjali : धिनोतेर्धनम्[24].

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20. *M.B.* Vol. III p. 228.
21. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 120.
22. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 48.
23. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 262
24. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 275

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धीरः (*N.* IV. 10). Yāska traces धीर 'wise' to ध्या to 'meditate' or contemplate. धीराः प्रज्ञानवन्तः ध्यानवन्तः

Patañjali : धीराः ध्यानवन्तः[25].

पिता (*N.* IV. 21) has been traced to पा or पाल् 'to protect' or 'to rescue'. पाता वा पालयिता वा.

Patañjali : पाति पालयतीति वा पिता[26].

प्रसिति (*N.* VI. 12) 'string' or 'net' has been traced to सि 'to bind' with प्र 'that which binds well' प्रसितिः प्रसयनात्

Patañjali traces प्रसित 'one who is too much attached' to सि to bind with प्र, literally 'one who is bound by desires' सिनोतिरयं बध्नात्यर्थे वर्तते, बद्ध इवासौ तत्र भवति[27].

मनीषा (*N.* II. 25) Yāska considers मनीषा 'praise' or '*devotion*' as a compound made up of two nouns मनस् 'mind' and ईषा 'seeing' or 'moving'.

Patañjali derives मनीषी 'intelligent', which is only मनीषा with the possessive suffix इन्, from the same source. मनस ईषिणः[28].

But modern philologists would trace मनीषा, directly to मन् (from which मनस् is derived) istelf, considering ई as augment and स as suffix on the analogy of शिरीष, पुरीष and ऋजीष.

मर्यः (*N.* III 15) 'mortal' is traced to मृ 'to die'. मर्यो मनुष्यो मरणधर्मा. See also (*N.* II. 20) अमृते अमरणधर्मणौ.

Patañjali traces मर्त्य 'mortal' to मृ. मर्त्या मरणधर्माणो मनुष्याः[29].

शुक्रः (*N.* VIII. 11) 'shining' is traced to शुच् 'to shine' शोचतेर्ज्वलतिकर्मणः

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25. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 42
26. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 107
27. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 511
28. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 39
29. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 38

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The *Vārtika* and the *Mahābhāṣya* derive it by adding the possessive suffix र to शुच् a root stem meaning brilliance. शुक्र would thus mean 'that which possesses brilliance'[30].

शुचि (*N.* VI. 1) is derived from शुच 'to shine' शोचतेर्ज्वलतिकर्मण: The *Mahābhāṣya* derived it from the root - stem शुच् with the possessive suffix इ meaning 'that which possesses brilliance'[31].

सक्तु (*N.* IV. 10) 'corn' is traced to सच् 'to stick to' or 'to cling', literally 'that which sticks to the husk' ie. difficult to purify; and to कस् 'to blossom' with metathesis; that which blossoms or becomes large when pounded or fried. सक्तु: सचते: दुर्धर्वो भवति, कसतेर्वा स्याद्विपरीतस्य.

Patañjali : सक्तु: सचतेर्दुर्धर्वो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीतात् विकसितो भवति[32]

सखा (*N.* VII. 30, XII. 13) 'a friend' is derived from स 'same' or 'similar' and ख्या 'to see' समानख्याना: those who see alike or in similar manner,

The word सखाय: is met with in the *RV* सक्तुमिव etc. which is explained in the *Mahābhāṣya.*[33] The present edition of the *Bhāṣya* contains no explanation of सखा; they read only अत्र सखाय: सन्त: सख्यानि जानते. In the chāyā, Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa alludes to a reading सखाय: समानख्यातय: सन्त: etc. That this is a genuine reading is fully attested by Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein the passage reads अत्र सखाय:.....समानख्यातय: and the word is explained as समानप्रज्ञाना:. On the evidence of Bhartṛhari and Vaidyanātha we may take it for granted that the Bhāṣya contained the passage and traced सखा to स and ख्या समान-ख्यातय: 'those who see in the same or similar way'.

सिकता (N. II. 1.) 'sand' is traced to कस् with metathesis कसे: सिकता.

Patañjali: कसे: सिकता[34].

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30. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 238
31. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 238
32. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 42
33. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 42
34. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 120

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II

In the following instances Yāska and Patañjali agree with each other as far as the semantical aspect is concerned, but differ in regard to derivation.

अद्य (*N.* I. 6.) 'today' is treated as a compound consisting of अ 'this' and द्यु 'day' अद्य अस्मिन् द्यवि, द्युरित्यहो नामधेयम्. अ is a substitute of इदम् in some of the case forms and द्यवि is the locative of द्यु; as a compound अद्य loses the inflections of both the members.

Patañjali in the wake of the *Vārtika* derives अद्य 'on this day' from अ (इदं) with the secondary suffix द्य in the sense of day. इदमोऽश् भावो निपात्यते, द्यश्च प्रत्ययः अहन्यभिधेये। अस्मिन् अहनि अद्य[35].

द्यु in the sense of day is familiar in the *Ṛg Veda* either singly or in juxtaposition with अक्तु 'night', as द्युभिरक्तुभिः 'by day and nights'. The iterative form द्यवि द्यवि 'every day' is also not unusual in the *Ṛg Veda*. अस्मिन् द्यवि when compounded will give rise to only अद्य when the inflections in both the words are dropped. It is not a regular formation from अस्मिन् द्यवि, but probably a contraction of अद्यवि itself by dropping वि by analogy with some other word.

This derivation is fully corroborated by the existence of a similar form परेद्यवि 'on the next day' which is a regular formation from पर and द्यु, without loss of inflections of both the members. पर takes the pronomial inflection स्मिन् only optionally cf. *Pāṇ.* VII. 1. 16. पूर्वादिभ्यो नाभ्यो वा.

The *Vārtika* considers परेद्यवि as a secondary noun by the addition of the suffix एद्यवि to पर, परस्मादेद्यव्यहनि[36] and Patañjali explains it as परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यवि.

The *Nighaṇṭu* includes द्यु and द्यविद्यवि in the list of words which mean 'day'. The occurrence of द्यु in the sense of day as a separate word and its juxtaposition with अक्तु 'night' have enabled Yāska

35. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 366

36. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 365

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to take अद्य as a componnd consisting of two separate inflexible words इदं and द्यु and give the etymology accordingly.

Pāṇini considers अद्य, सद्यः, परेद्यवि, अन्येद्युः, पूर्वेद्युः, उभयेद्युः etc.—all adverbs of time—as admitting of no derivation and clubs all of them into a single *sūtra*, V. 3. 22. It is not known whether Pāṇini considered them as compounds of two words or only secondary nouns. By the the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali द्यु as a separate word or as the final member of a compound in the sense of day became obsolete. Only words like पूर्वेद्युः अपरेद्युः etc.–adverbs indicating time—contained द्यु and its relation to the former members remained obscure in the language that was spoken in the time of Kātyāyana or Patañjali. The language afforded neither any parallel formations nor any declensional forms of these words that might facilitate Kātyāyana and Patañjali to resolve these words into their respective inflectional words. They consider सद्यः as समान and द्यः, पूर्वेद्युः as पूर्व and एद्युः and उभयेद्युः as उभय and एद्युः and so on. They were, however, quite certain regarding the meaning that all of them had, in them, the common factor time and considered the final members as suffixes ordained in that sense समानस्य सभावो द्यश्चाह्नि etc.

विंशति (*N.*III. 10) 'twenty' is considered as a compound consisting of द्वि 'two' and दशत् 'decade' i.e. 'two decades' विंशतिः द्विर्दशतः. Patañjali traces विंशति to the same source; but he considers शति as a suffix in the meaning of 'ten' by analogy with त्रिंशत्, चत्वारिंशत् etc. द्विशब्दादयं दशदर्थाभिधायिनः स्वार्थे शतिच् प्रत्ययो निपात्यते, विन् भावश्च, द्वौ दशतौ विंशतिः[37].

Kātyāyana, however, holds that it is not derivable; it is a rūḍhi word. अनारम्भो वा प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानात्,

शत (*N.* III. 10) 'hundred' is traced to दश 'ten' and दशत् 'decade', ie. ten decades शतं दश दशतः

Patañjali does not actually derive शत from दश and दशत्. But, from his refutation of the arguments advanced by Kātyāyana

37. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 270

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against the derivation of विंशति, शतु and other numerals, we are given to understand that Patañjali accepted the derivation of शत in the same way as विंशति.

III

Sometimes Yāska gives as many etymologies, for the same word, as there are different meanings attached to the word. Most of these etymologies are phonetically very loose. Out of these Patañjali chooses the one that he considers the best and also phonetically and semantically sound.

अपत्य (*N.* III. 1): Yāska traces अपत्य 'progeny' to two different sources. (1) अप + तन् and (2) अ+पत्. अपततं भवति, नानेन पततीति वा 'that which extends (the family) yonder', 'that by which (the parents) do not fall (into the hell).

Patāñjali gives the latter etymology only. अपतनादपत्यम्[38].

कच्छप: (*N.* IV. 18) 'tortoise' is traced to कच्छ and the root पा which has more than one meaning. कच्छ refers to the peculiar organ of the tortoise by which it drinks and contracts all other limbs into its shell. कच्छं पाति, कच्छेन पाति, कच्छेन पिबति. 'that which saves the कच्छ', 'that which saves by the कच्छ,' 'that which drinks by the कच्छ'.

Patañjali gives the last one alone, कच्छेन पिबति.[39]

तस्कर (*N.* III. 14). Yāska derives तस्कर 'thief' from (1) तत् and कर and (2) तन् and कर. तस्करस्तत्करो भवति, यत्पापकमिति नैरुक्ता: 'he who does that (unnameable act)' or 'sinful act.' तनोतेर्वा स्यात् सन्ततकर्मा अहोरात्रकर्मा 'he who extends his practice (stealing) all day and night'.

Patañjali in the wake of the *Vārtika* approves of the former alone. तद्बृहतो: करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयो: सुट् तलोपश्च.[40]

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38. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 275
39. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 162
40. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 143

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तितउ (*N.* IV. 9) 'a sieve' is traced to three different sources: viz. तन् 'to stretch', तुद् 'to pierce' and तिल + तुद् 'having holes as large as sesamum'. तितउ परिपवनं भवति ततवद्वा तुन्नवद्वा तिलमात्र-तुन्नमिति वा.

Patañjali selects the first two alone as, in the last etymology the loss of ल is unaccountable and the meaning also far-fetched. तितउ परिपवनं भवति ततवद्वा तुन्नवद्वा[41].

दिद्युत् (*N.* X. 7.) Yāska offers three etymologies for दिद्युत् 'a weapon of Rudra' from द्यु and द्युत् 'to shine' and दो 'to cut' द्यतेर्वा द्युतेर्वा द्योततेर्वा, that which cuts or shines. The first etymology, though semantically possible, cannot adequately explain the change of vowel.

The *Vārtika* prefers to derive it from द्युत् to shine as in the other case त् has to be treated as an additional element. द्युतिगमि-जुहोतीनां द्वे च[42].

भ्राता (*N.* IV. 26) is traced to the roots भृ 'to take away' 1st conjugation and भृ 'to bear' 3rd conjugation भरतेर्हरतिकर्मण: हरते भागं, भर्तव्यो भवतीति वा. 'one who takes away his share' or 'one who is to be borne or sheltered'

Patañjali accepts the latter बिभर्तीति भ्राता.[43] 'one who bears or gives shelter'.

यज्ञ: (*N.* III. 19). Yāska supplies five etymologies for यज्ञ 'sacrifice'; from (1) यज् 'to sacrifice' (2) याच् 'to beg' (3) यजुस् + उद् 'to wet' (4) अजिन 'the skin of an antelope' and (5) यजुस् + नी 'to lead'.

प्रख्यातं यजतिकर्मेति नैरुक्ता: । याच्ञो भवतीति वा । यजुरुन्नो भवतीति वा । बहुकृष्णाजिन इत्यौपमन्यव: । यजूंष्येनं नयन्तीति वा ।

Patañjali approves of the one from यज्. नङ् यथेह....एवं यज्ञ:[44] The others miss the main purpose of यज्ञ:, i.e. sacrificing, and are also devoid of phonetical correspondence.

41. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 42
42. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 212
43. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 107
44. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 4

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लक्ष्मी (*N.* IV. 10) 'mark' or 'distinction' is derived from seven roots; लभ् 'to obtain', लक्ष् 'to mark', लप्स् the desiderative of लभ्, लाञ्छ् 'to mark', लप् 'to desire', लग् 'to cling' and लज्ज् 'to be ashamed' लक्ष्मीर्लभाद्वा, लक्षणाद्वा, लप्स्यनाद्वा, लाञ्छनाद्वा लषतेर्वा स्यात् प्रेप्साकर्मणः, लग्यतेर्वा स्यादाश्लेषा कर्मणः, लज्जतेर्वा स्यादश्लाघाकर्मणः

Patañjali favours the one from लक्ष्, लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणात् भासनात्[45] as by simple addition of the suffix मी the form is got. He equates भासन 'shining' with लक्षण. This is only an extended meaning of लक्षण. One who has won distinction shines above all, i.e. becomes well known to all.

वृषभः (*N.* IV. 8; IX. 22) meaning bull or god (Indra) is traced to वृष् to 'shower' or 'sprinkle' and bull alone to वृह् to 'increase' वृषभो वर्षितापाम्; प्रजां वर्षतीति वा, अतिवृहति रेत इति वा.

Patañjali chooses the one from वृष्–वृषभो वर्षणात्[46].

सिंहः (*N.* III. 18). For सिंह 'lion' Yāska offers as many as three etymologies; from सह् 'to overcome', हिंस् 'to injure' with metathesis and सं+हा+हन्. सिंहः सहनात्, हिंसेर्वा स्याद्विपरीतस्य, संहाय-हन्तीतिवा.

Patañjali traces सिंह to हिंस alone, as it is difficult to account for loss or change of letters in other cases हिंसेः सिंहः[47].

सूर्यः (*N.* XIII. 14). Yāska derives सूर्य from सृ 'to move', सु 'to induce' and सु + ईर 'to induce' सर्तेर्वा सुवतेर्वा स्वीर्यतेर्वा.

Patañjali gives the first two etymologies alone. सरणाद्वा सुवति कर्मणीति वा सूर्यः[48].

IV

In the following instance Patañjali offers one more etymology in addition to Yāska's.

45. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 43
46. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 37
47. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 120
48. *M.B.* Vol. III. p. 148

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हंसः (*N.* IV. 13) 'swan' is derived from हन् 'to go'. हंसाः हन्तेः घ्नन्त्यध्वानम् 'those that proceed on a journey'.

Patañjali traces it to the root हम्म 'to go' also. हम्मतेर्हंसः। हन्तेर्हंसः हन्त्यध्वानमिति.[49]

V

In the following etymologies, Yāska and Patañjali agree with respect to the root, but are at variance with respect to the conjugation to which the root blongs.

अर्कः (*N.* V. 4). Yāska derives अर्क a god from अर्च् 'to adore' or 'to praise', a root of the first conjugation. अर्को देवो भवति यदेनमर्चन्ति.

But Patanjali derives it from अर्च् 'to adore' of the tenth conjugation. अर्चयतेरर्कः.[50]

घृत (*N.* VII. 24) meaning 'water' as well as 'ghee' is derived from घृ, of the 3rd conjugation meaning sprinkling. घृतमित्युदकनाम, जिघर्तेः सिञ्चतिकर्मणः

But Patañjali derives it from घृ to sprinkle, 1st conjugation as is evident from घरतिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः स घृतं घृणा घर्म इत्येवंविषयः.[51]

The *Dhātupāṭha* reads घृ in the 1st as well as the 3rd conjugations, in the sense of 'sprinkling' (सेचन) in the former and 'trickling' or 'shining' (क्षरणदीप्त्योः) in the latter. Here Yāska gives sprinkling as the meaning of the root घृ, 3rd conjugation. There seems to have been a confusion and mutual transference in the meanings of the roots घृ of the 1st and घृ of the 3rd conjugations.

VI

In the following etymologies both the authors are agreed as far as the root is concerned, but differ in regard to the meaning of the root.

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49. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 34
50. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 454
51. *M.B.* on Pāṇ. VII. 1. 96

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अश्व (*N.* I-12-13; II-27). Yāska gives two sources for अश्व 'horse'; (1) अश 'to reach' and (2) अश् 'to eat.' अश्वः कस्मात्? अश्नुते अध्वानं, महाशनो भवतीति वा. 'one who reaches' or 'one who eats much'.

Patañjali traces अश्व to अश् 'to go fast'. यदश्वे अश्वत्वं आशुगामित्वं[52] 'that which goes fast'.

दक्षिणा (*N.* I. 7). Yāska traces दक्षिणा 'gift' to दक्ष्: दक्षतेः समर्धयतिकर्मणः. The root ऋध् usually means 'to prosper' or 'to increase' and is equated with वृध् in the *Dhātupāṭha.* ऋधु वृद्धौ. But Yāska by ऋध् means 'to compensate for a shortage' or 'to make up for a lapse' and accordingly assigns the meaning for दक्ष्. दक्षिणा would then mean 'that which makes up for whatever mistake or error that had occurred in the sacrifice' व्यृद्धं समर्धयति.

Patañjali derives दक्षिणा from the same root in its ordinary sense, दक्षतेर्वृद्धिकर्मणः[53] and to support his stand he quotes the following Vedic passage. यावन्तस्ते तां वाशितामनुयन्ति सर्वे ते दक्षिणा समृद्ध्यै. 'Those, whatever be their number, that follow the cow–all of them are Dakṣiṇā, for the prosperity (of the sacrificer).' This passage may equally support Yāska's stand as it yields a better sense, if interpreted in the light of the meaning he has given. 'All those that follow the cow must be considered as Dakṣiṇā so as to make up for any lapse that might have occurred.'

मेघः (*N.* II. 21) 'cloud' has been traced to मिह् 'to shed' or 'to release' something. मेघः कस्मात्? मेहतीति सतः 'that which sheds or releases' (rains).

Cloud is metaphorically concevied as the giver of water and Patañjali attributes the sense of 'giving' to मिह्; accordingly he derives it in that sense. मिहेर्मेघः। मेघश्च कस्मात् भवति? अपो ददाति.[54]

स्त्री (*N.* III. 21) 'a woman' is derived from स्त्या (स्त्यै) meaning 'to be bashful', स्त्यायतेरपत्रपकर्मणः. The root, no doubt, is read in the Dhātupāṭha, but its meaning as given by Yāska is unknown.

52. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 249
53. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 275
54. *M.B.* Vol. V. p. 28

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Patañjali derives the word from the same root, but meaning संघीभाव ie. 'to join' or 'to become united'. His etymology is based on the popular notion of womanhood, viz. the capability of begetting children. अधिकरणसाधना लोके स्त्री, स्त्यात्यस्यां गर्भः[55] Here fertilization is meant by स्त्यान or संघीभाव and woman is considered as the locus of fertilization.

VII

Homonymous words: In giving the etymology of homonymous words, Yāska observes that if a word has diverse meanings, at variance with one another, then the word must have to be traced to the respective roots having the diverse meanings. If, on the other hand, the meanings are allied to one another, then the word must have to be derived from one and the same root. तानि चेत्समानकर्माणि समाननिर्वचनानि, नानाकर्माणि चेन्नानानिर्वचनानि.[56] The following instances illustrate this rule.

अक्षः (*N.* IX. 7) 'die' is traced to अश् 'to reach' or 'to obtain'. अश्नुवत एतानिति वा, अभ्यश्नुवत एभिरिति वा. 'those which (the players) reach (by their hands)' or 'those by which (the players) obtain (money from their play-mates)'.

अक्षः (*N.* XIII. 12) 'axle of a cart' has been traced to अञ्ज् 'to smear with oil.' अक्षो यानस्याञ्जनात्, 'that which is smeared (with lubricants)'.

पादः (*N.* II. 7) 'foot' is derived from पद् 'to reach' or 'to step out'. पद्यतेः पादः 'that which reaches or steps out'. पद meaning 'foot-step' is also derived from the same root. तन्निधानात् पदम् 'because the foot is placed over it.' पाद denotes 'one fourth' (literally one foot) because of its association with the animal. As the animal is considered as a whole consisting of four pādas (legs, quadruped, चतुष्पाद्), pāda comes to mean one fourth part of an animal and finally one fourth part of anything. पशुपाद-प्रकृतिः प्रभागपादः.

Patañjali does not agree with Yāska in regard to the etymology of homonymous words. His opinion is that the homonymous

55. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 98.
56. *N.* II. 7

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words अक्ष, पाद and माष must be derived only from अश्, पद् and मा respectively however diverse the meanings each of them conveys might be. सर्वत्राश्नोतेरक्षः पद्यतेः पादः मिमीतेर्माषः[57]. Here, in Patañjali, we notice the phonetical aspect predominating over the semantical aspect.

Yāska immediately after tracing the etymology of पाद states the above mentioned rule regarding the etymology of homonymous words. It is significant to note that Patañjali disregards this rule when dealing with the etymology of पाद. May we consider this as Patañjali's direct attack upon Yāska ?

VIII

In the following instances Patañjali traces the etymologies to sources which are unknown to Yāska.

रश्मिः (*N.* I. 15) is derived from यम् 'to control'. Except म् there is nothing in common between रश्मि and यम्. As the *Dhātupāṭha* has no root that may be considered at least the nearest phonetical approach to रश्मि, Yāska following his dictum अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत traces रश्मि to यम् 'to bind' or 'to control', a semantical equivalent of रश्मि. He does not venture to suggest any other Vedic root which might have been a phonetical counterpart of रश्मि since in his opinion words must be derived from existing stock of roots. अथापि भाषिकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो नैगमाः कृतो भाष्यन्ते। . . . नैगमेभ्यो भाषिकाः . . ।[58]

Patañjali, seeing that no sound law could explain the formation of रश्मि from यम् boldly presumes the root रश् as the source of रश्मि, though not found in the *Dhātupāṭha*. He has also taken note of the words रशना (a string or girdle) that which is used for binding and राशि (a heap) that in which several things are bound together, allied to रश्मि in sense and asserts the existence of a root रश् from which रश्मि, रशना and राशि are derived. रशिरस्मायविशेषेणोपदिष्टः स राशिः रश्मिः रशना इत्येवंविषयः[59]. On this Kaiyaṭa observes: रशिलुशी

57. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 101
58. *Nir.* II. 2
59. *M.B.* on Pāṇini. VII. 1. 96.

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अपठितावपि भाष्यकारवचनाद् धातू बोद्धव्यौ. It is significant to note that, in Vedic literature, both रश्मि 'rein' and रशना 'rope' are associated with the horse.

रश् originally meaning 'to bind' when associated with the horse came to mean the binding material, rope; and probably was applied to the 'ray' of the sun because a ray may be metaphorically spoken of as binding the objects on earth on account of its lengthy nature, again a common characteristic between the ray and the rope. That there existed a root रश् 'to bind' in the Vedic language is fully corroborated by the existence of a root 'rek' in the parent Indo-European, whose counterpart is the Anglo-Saxon 'rakka',[60] a strap. It is worth while to note here that the *Uṇādi-sūtras* derive all the three words from अश् with the augment र[61].

लोष्ट (*N.* VI. 1.) is traced to रुज् 'to break' रुजतेरविपर्ययेण 'that which is liable for breakage' or 'that which strikes'. One can hardly find any correspondence अक्षरवर्णसामान्य between रुज् and लोष्ट and so Yāska proceeds to give the derivation from a root the meaning of which he reads into लोष्ट. रुज् may perhaps yield लोष्ट by the application of sound laws.

As in the previous case Patañjali here presumes a root लुश् (meaning not known) which he asserts to be the source of लोष्ट. He seems to corroborate this derivation by pointing out words, which convey allied meanings when he says, लुशिरस्मायविशेषेणोपदिष्टः स लोष्ट इत्येवं विषयः[62] and which are unfortunately omitted in the printed editions of the *Mahābhāṣya.* It is certain that the passage should have contained at least a word or two besides लोष्ट, as otherwise the purpose of the author–to point out विशेष in the meaning of the words—is lost and the passage would remain unintelligible. We can, however, believe that, as in the case of रश्मि, Patañjali is right in postulating लुश्. Reference to Mss. not utilised in the printed editions of the *Mahābhāṣya* may bring to

60. 'The Etymologies of Yāska' by Siddheshwar Varma, p. 121.
61. *Uṇādi* II. 76, IV. 46 and IV. 127
62. *M. B.* on Pāṇini VII. 1. 96

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light the semantically allied words of लोष्ट and thus furnish a clue to find out the cognates in the other Indo-European languages.

IX

Yāska and Patañjali trace the same word to different sources in the following instances.

अक्षि (*N.* I. 9) 'eye' is derived by Yāska from चक्ष् 'to see' with the loss of the initial consonant. He also records the etymology suggested by Āgrayaṇa who traces it to अञ्ज् 'to anoint'. अक्षि चष्टे:, अनक्तेरित्याग्रयण:

Patañjali in the wake of the *Uṇādi* derives अक्षि from अश् to 'reach' or 'pervade'. अश्नोतेरयमौणादिक: करणसाधन: सिप्रत्यय: अश्नुतेऽनेनेत्यक्षि [63] 'that by which one reaches or sees objects.' Whether अश् meant seeing is a different question to be answered. But it is obvious that Patañjali here reads into अक्षि, the philosophical concept of the process of perception—the intellect (*buddhi*) reaching and pervading the external object through the external senses. Comparative philology lends support to the derivation from अश्, Cf. Greek-osse. Latin-oculus and English-eye.

काकुद (*N.* V. 76). Yāska traces काकुद 'palate' to two sources; firstly (1) a compound made of कोकुवा tongue and the root धा, जिह्वा कोकुवा सास्मिन् धीयत इति 'that in which the tongue is placed' or (2) a compound of the two roots कू 'to sound' and नुद् 'to impel', कोकूयमाना वर्णान् नुदतीति वा and secondly to the root कू itself. कोकूयतेर्वास्माच्छब्दकर्मण: 'that which produces sounds'.

Patañjali considers it as a compound made of काकु 'tongue' and वद् 'to speak' काकुर्जिह्वा सास्मिन्नुद्यत इति[64]. The meaning of वद् does not conform to the derivation as given by Patañjali and so Kaiyaṭa takes उद्यते in the sense of उत्क्षिप्यते, meaning 'that in which the tongue is tossed or raised upwards', appealing to the familiar dictum of the grammarians: धातूनामनेकार्थत्वात् उत्क्षिप्यत इत्यर्थ:. But Nāgeśa splits अस्मिन्नुद्यते into अस्मिन् नुद्यते, in which case it is a compound of काकु with नुद् 'to impel' meaning 'that in which the

63. *M. B.* Vol. III. p. 189
64. *M. B.* Vol. I. p. 45

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tongue is impelled or made to act'. नुदेर्वा अधिकरणे कः। Without recourse to twisting the meaning of उद्यते or landing ourselves into the difficulty of accounting for the loss of न् in नुद् we may safely take उद्यते as the passive of उन्द् to 'moisten' or 'wet' and explain सास्मिन्नुद्यते as 'that in which the tongue is moistened'. Probably Patañjali might have meant उद्यते from उन्द् and also this explanation as we have suggested here.

घर्म (*N.* XI. 42) 'heat' has been traced to हृ 'to take away' meaning thereby 'that which takes away water'. घर्मं हरणम्. Disappearance of waterunderthe influence of heat is a well known natural phenomenon. Cf. Kālidāsa. आदत्ते हि रसं रविः (R. I. 18).

Patañjali derives the word from घृ 'to heat', a root of the third conjugation meaning क्षरण and दीप्ति.[65] Patañjali's derivation is phonetically more sound and has also the support of comparative philology. Cf. Greek-termos, Latin-formus, English-warm.

तुरीय (*N.* XIII. 9) 'fourth'. Yāska traces तुरीय to the root त्वर् to 'hasten' or 'expedite' तुरीयं त्वरतेः.

But the Vārtika and following it Patañjali derive it from the numeral stem चतुर् by adding the secondary suffix ईय and with the loss of the initial syllable. चतुरश्छयतौ आद्यक्षरलोपश्च[66].

देवः (*N.* VII. 15) 'God'. Yāska traces देव to four differnt roots; viz. दा 'to give', दीप् 'to shine', द्युत् 'to shine' and दिव् (root-stem). देवो दानाद्वा दीपनाद्वा द्योतनाद्वा द्युस्थानो भवतीति वा, 'bestower' 'brilliant' and 'celestial being'.

Patañjali accepts none of the four. He traces देव to the root दिव् 'to be wealthy(?)'. दिवेरैश्वर्यकर्मणो देवः.[67]

The *Dhātupāṭha* includes दिव् in three different conjugations, but the meaning that Patañjali has ascribed to it is found nowhere. Nor do we come across allied words derived from this root. Does

65. *M. B.* on Pāṇini VIII. 1.96
66. *M. B.* Vol. IV. p. 331
67. *M. B.* Vol. IV. p. 275

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Patañjali connect ऐश्वर्य with दान (given by Yāska) implying दान going with wealth? Does he equate देव with ईश्वर the supreme ruler?

पुत्र (*N.* II. 11) 'son'. Yāska offers three different etymologies for पुत्र. पुरु त्रायते। निपरणाद्वा। पुन्नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा. The two etymologies based on the root त्रा, 'one who protects' and 'one who saves (his parents) from the hell' are familiar in the *Purāṇas* and *Dharmaśāstras*. The other one from पॄ 'to give', i.e. 'one who gives *piṇḍas* to the deceased parents,' is also more or less an extension of the idea conveyed by the other two etymologies. In all the three the phonetical correspondence is very loose.

Patañjali derives पुत्र from पू 'to purify' and प्री 'to please'. पुनाति प्रीणातीति वा पुत्रः[68] 'one who purifies (the family)' or 'one who pleases (his parents)'.

Whether पुत्र originally meant 'purifier,' it is difficult to say. But the idea of associating purification with पुत्र seems to have been prevalent from very ancient times. Cf. स वह्निः पुत्रः पित्रोः पवित्रवान् पुनाति धीरो भुवनानि मायया R.V. I. 160-3. Here Dyāvāpṛthivī (heaven and earth) are metaphorically conceived as parents and Sūrya as their son pure (पवित्रवान्), wise (धीरः) and purifying the beings by his power. This Vedic passage, perhaps, might have suggested the derivation to Patañjali. Cf. Latin-putus (boy).

In this connection we may note पोत 'a child' or 'the young one of an animal' which also is derived from पू. The other one from प्री is phonetically very loose and perhaps might be an echo of the popular saying, प्रीणाति यः सुचरितैः पितरं स पुत्रः.

पुमान् (*N.* IX. 15) 'a male'. Yāska offers two derivations for पुमान् (1) पुरु+मनस् 'one having a magnanimous mind' and (2) पुंस् a root the meaning of which is not given. पुमान् पुरुमना भवति पुंसतेर्वा. The *Dhātupāṭha* reads a root पुंस् 'to increase' (अभिवृद्धि) in the tenth conjugation.

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68. *M. B.* Vol. II. p. 107

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The Vārtika derives पुमान् from सू 'to procreate', substituting प् for स्. सूतेः सप् प्रसवे पुमान्[69] and Patañjali adds कर्तृसाधनश्च पुमान् सूते पुमानिति, i.e. पुमान् is a nomina agentis.

This derivation given in the Vārtika is far from convincing as it depends purely on the meaning and is forced to make substitution to account for the form of the word. There seems to have prevailed a great confusion among the grammarians regarding the derivation of पुमान्. Kaiyaṭa in the light of the Vārtika derives the strong stem पुमस् from सू (पू after the substitution) with मस्. The *Uṇādisūtra* derives the weak stem from पा (to protect) with उंस्, पातेर्डुंसुन्. Bhaṭṭoji in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* however reads पूञो डुंसुन् and derives the weak stem from पू (to purify). The derivation from पू with मस् seems to be more convincing and it has also got support from comparative philology, cf. Latin-pūbes (adult).

भरूजा (*N.* II. 2.). This word is given as an illustration where additional elements besides the root and the suffix come into play in the formation of words. Its source as well as meaning is not given. Durga derives the word from भ्रस्ज् 'to ripe'.

Patañjali traces it to भृज् 'to fry'. भर्जिमर्च्योश्च, भरूजा मरीचय इति[70].

If Yāska derives it from भ्रस्ज्, as understood by Durga, it is very difficult to account for sound changes. Patañjali's derivation is simple and phonetically sround as the form is got by mere addition of ऊ to the strong form of the root, with, of course, the suffix.

भोग (*N.* IX. 15). Patañjali wants to show, in the particular context, that भोग means 'body of a living being' and in support of it he quotes the Vedic verse contained in the following passage. अथवा भोगशब्दः शरीरवाच्यपि दृश्यते। तद्यथा "अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम्"। अहिरिव शरीरैरिति गम्यते.[71] Though he does not give the actual deri-

69. *M. B.* Vol. II. p. 98
70. *M. B.* Vol. I. p. 365
71. *M. B.* Vol. IV. p. 247

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vation, his explanation implies the root भुज् 'to enjoy' as the source of भोग. It is a well known philosophical concept that the body of a living being is the place where the soul experiences pleasure and pain (cf. आत्मनो भोगायतनं शरीरम्) and accordingly he equates भोग with शरीर.

Yāska cites the very same verse, but he does not derive भोग from any source. In the Vedic verse a piece of skin (हस्तघ्न) tied round the fore-arm of an archer during a battle (to prevent any wound that might be caused by the frequent oscillation of the bow-string) is compared to a serpent turning round the arm (of a snake charmer). One is at a loss to see how a serpent could have many bodies (भोगैः). Kaiyaṭa tries to explain this anamoly by resort to Lakṣaṇā: भोग must be understood as the hood. समुदाये वृत्तः भोगशब्दः एकदेशेषु फणेषु प्रयुज्यते. Even here one fails to see how hoods could twine round the hand. Sāyaṇa gets over the difficulty by considering it as an instance of loose concord. भोगैः शरीरेण, वचन-व्यत्ययः[72].

One can easily see here that भोग refers to the wavy movement of the serpent or, with reference to the hand, the twining or movement in a spiral-like manner. Durga has clearly seen this and accordingly renders भोग as कुटिलभाव, the root here being भुज कौटिल्ये. योऽयं अहिरिव भोगैः सर्प इव कुटिलभावैः सर्पग्राहकस्य बाहुं पर्येति परिवेष्टयति बाहुं धनुष्मतः पुरुषस्य. Here भोग (in plural), as Durga understands, refers to the curves that appear in the serpent's coil when winding around an object. There is no doubt that Durga's derivation is the correct one and it fully brings out the significance of the comparison whereas Patañjali's is clumsy and renders the passage unintelligible.

रथ (*N.* IX. 11). Yāska considers रथ 'a chariot' as a compound made of the fragments of the two roots रम् and स्था. रममाणः अस्मिन् तिष्ठति 'that in which one accommodates himself in a joyful mood'. This etymology is a phonetical impossibility.

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72. *RV.* VI. 75. 14

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Patañjali derives it from रम् 'to rejoice', with the suffix थ; यद्रथे रथत्वं रमन्तेऽस्मिन् रथ इति[73] 'that in which men sport'. The suffix थ is a familiar one, cf. पाथ, तीर्थ, अर्थ, उद्गीथ etc.

स्योन (*N.* VIII. 9) 'happiness' has been traced to सो 'to end' or to सेव् 'to resort to'. स्योनमिति सुखनाम, स्यतेः। अवस्यन्त्येतत्। सेवितव्यं भवतीति वा, 'that which is the ultimate end' or 'that which is resorted to (by all)'. Both the etymologies are phonetically very loose.

Patañjali derives it from सिव् 'to sew' with the Uṇādi suffix न[74]. This derivation is more sound as the changes could be satisfactorily explained by the sound laws.

X

The following words are deemed, by Patañjali, as not derivable from any source whereas they are derived by Yāska.

अक्षर (*N.* XIII. 12). Yāska furnishes three etymologies for अक्षर a 'letter' or 'syllable': (1) Negative of क्षर् 'to undergo change' i.e. immutable (2) Negative of क्षी 'to perish' i.e. eternal and (3) अक्ष +र, the axle of speech. अक्षरं न क्षरति। न क्षीयते वा। वाचः अक्ष इति वा.

The first two etymologies are hardly satisfactory in the case of अक्षर 'articulate sound' as sound disappears immediately after it is uttered. And it is too much to expect an ordinary man to read in the word the philosophical concept of the eternality of sound.

Patañjali in the wake of Kātyāyana starts a discussion on the meaning of the word अक्षर found in compounds like अक्षरसमाम्नाय. Patañjali poses the question अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ?[75] The Vārtika answers अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्. Patañjali explains it as न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाक्षरम्. This etymology hardly complies with the nature

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73. *M.B.* Vol. II. p. 249
74. *M.B.* Vol. I. p. 521
75. *M. B.* Vol I. p. 131

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of articulate sounds and so the Vārtika offers another one from the root अश् 'to reach' with the suffix सर. अश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् 'that which reaches the meaning' i.e. that which conveys the meaning. This etymology holds good only in the case of words or sentences since they alone are capable of conveying meaning and not individual letters. The Vārtika then proceeds वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे. On this Patañjali observes अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते 'Or in the ancient sūtra works वर्ण (letter) is technically known as अक्षर'. In other words Patañjali's view is that अक्षर denotes a letter by mere convention. It is a संज्ञा just like टि or घु; i.e. not derivable from a root which semantically corresponds to the denotation of अक्षर. It is only a rūḍhi word. It follows, therefore, that according to this view अक्षर admits of no analysis and as such no etymology is possible.

अर्बुद (*N.* III. 10) 'a crore'. Yāska believes that अर्बुद 'cloud' was applied to 'crore', a great number because of greatness, a common characteristic which he finds in both. अर्बुदो मेघो भवति। अरणमम्बु तद्दः।.....स यथा महान् बहुर्भवति वर्षन् तदिवार्बुदम्.

सहस्र (*N.* III. 10.) 'a thousand'. Yāska traces सहस्र to सहस् 'might' and र the possessive suffix. सहस्रं सहस्वत् 'that which possesses might'. i.e. great. This etymology of सहस्र as given by Yāska is acceptable to comparative philology also.

Patañjali considers both अर्बुद and सहस्र as admitting of no derivation. अव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि यथा सहस्रादिषु। तद्यथा सहस्रं अयुतं अर्बुदम् इति। न चानुगमः क्रियते.[76]

Patañjali's observations on अक्षर, अर्बुद and सहस्र are of paramount importance from the point of view of a linguist as they supply a clue to Patañjali's view on the derivability of words. It is evident that there are certain words whose meanings cannot be ascertained from the meanings of the formative elements of the word, through formal as well as semantical analysis. It follows that all nouns cannot be derived from verbal roots and Patañjali does not concede the theory that all nouns could be traced to verbal roots.

76. *M.B.* Vol. IV. p. 272

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'SOME UN-PĀṆINIAN FORMS IN THE *ŚRAUTA-SŪTRAS*'

P. D. Nawathe, Poona

In the *Śrauta-sūtras* very frequently we come across un-Pāṇinian forms. The term un-Pāṇinian used here indicates such forms as are not authorised by Pāṇini himself as well as those not sanctioned by his school. A few striking forms are discussed below.

(a) There are a few anomalous cases of which we do not find any mention in Pāṇini's work.

(i) Pāṇ. 7.4.42 teaches the formation of the past passive participle *hita*-from *dhā*-'to put'. In the subsequent Sūtra 45 are registered *su-dhita*, *vasu-dhita* and *nema-dhita* which are exceptions to this rule. It may be observed that in these instances the aspirate *h* which is substituted for *dh* of √*dhā*- is deleted and the original *dh* is retained. To these instances we may add the past participle *pari-dhita*-from *pari-*√*dhā*- which occurs in the following passages from *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra*. (1) *tat pari-dhitāḥ paridhayaḥ* 11,2,12 (=*parihitāh*: Sch.) Trs. the enclosing sticks that are placed round the fire are also the same. (2) *tasmin* (=*āśvine śastre*) *paridhite hotṛ-camasam adhvaryur ādatte* 14,4,6. Trs. when it is concluded the Adhvaryu priest takes the Hotṛ's cup.

The form also occurs in a compound. Thus: '*idhma-saṁnahanaiḥ...āgnīdhraḥ...pari-dhīn yathā-paridhitam anv-agram tris triḥ saṁ-mṛjya...* (=*yena krameṇa pari-dhitās tena krameṇa*, Sch.).

(ii) In *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* 16,15,1 we have the form *juhavāṁ-karoti* which is a periphrastic formation with a derivative noun from *hu* in-*ām* combined with a form of √*kṛ*-'to do' in the present tense. It is well known that combinations of this type are usually made in the perfect and are dealt with by Pāṇini in 3.1.35-42. It is clear that so far as Pāṇini is concerned the form proves to be a new occurrence.

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(b) Sometimes in the *Śrauta-sūtras* we find forms which appear to disregard the rules as laid down by Pāṇini.

(i) Let us consider the form "*tris-tāvaḥ*" in the passage '*vedi-kāle dvis-tāvā vediḥ tris-tāvo'gnir eka-vimśo vā. Ap. Śr.* 20,9,1. Trs. At the time of preparing the sacrificial altar, it is to be noted that it is twice as large as the standard measure while the construction of the fire-place itself is thrice as large as the standard measure or measures twentyone fathoms in length.

Here it is to be noted that in the adjectival compound *dvis-tāva-* and *tristāva-* the second member *tāvat* is changed to *tāva.*

Now according to Pāṇini's rule 5.4.81, '*dvis-tāvā tris-tāvā vediḥ*', the adjectival compounds have this thematic ending provided they qualify the fem. noun *vedi-*. On this rule *Kāśikā* elucidates that if the substantive happens to be other than *vedi* the compounds retain the normal forms *dvis-tāvat* and *tris-tāvat-* respectively. Hence *tris-tāvaḥ*, the form under discussion would be equivalent to *tris-tāvān* according to the Pāṇinian system. It may be pointed out that the corresponding form *dvis-tāvān* (*dīrghaḥ*) is used in *Taitt. Prāt.* 1.35 in the definition of a long syllable.

(ii) Another remarkable instance is *lāṅgaleṣā-*, 'the pole of a plough', which occurs at *Śāṅkh. Śr.* 14,40,8, *Āp. Śr.* 22,3,7, *Kāty. Śr.* 22,3,48 and *Lāṭy. Śr.* 8,3,6 and is a regular combination of *lāṅgala+īṣā.*

Now the *Vārttika* '*śakandhv ādiṣu para-rūpam vācyam*' on Pāṇ. 6.1.94 observes that in the words belonging to the *śakandhvādi* group the Para-rupa substitution takes place instead of the regular vowel-combination. The word *lāṅgal'īṣā* which is included in this list varies with the regular *lāṅgaleṣā* which is attested in the *Śrauta-sūtras.*

The cases discussed so far serve as specimens of un-Pāṇinian material in the *Śrauta-sūtra.* As it is not possible here to deal with them exhaustively my conclusions are of a very general nature.

In the first place, the occurrence of such forms seems to be improbable in a period after the full influence of Pāṇini's work was established. Hence the possibility of their being post-

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Pāṇinian should be ruled out. Again in one place (4,3,103) Pāṇini speaks of ancient *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas*. But this reference in no way confirms his acquaintance with any particular *Kalpa Sūtras* now extant. Moreover though his acquaintance with *Brāhmaṇas* is very marked references to ritual manuals in the work are remarkably wanting. This makes it probable that some of the present ritual Sūtras were almost contemporaneous with him or were composed in a period which immediately preceded him. This seems to be a satisfactory explanation of the fact that these forms did not receive his attention.

Secondly, according to Buhler the school of Sāṅkhāyanas was originated in northern Gujarat while the home of Āpastamba was in south India in Āndhra. We may therefore be justified in treating these deviations from the standard language as regional peculiarities.

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TRANSFERENCE OF STEMS IN EPIC NOMINAL DECLENSION

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There is a tendency in the Epic language, as also in M I A but rarely in O I A. to transfer -an,-as,-in,-is and-us stems to the respective vowel stems in-a,-i and-u. In the variants we find attempts made to regularise.

Sporadically, vowel-stems are also transferred to the corresponding consonant-stems.

We find also an interchange of-i and-ī stems with each other.

(*a*) –'*an*' *stem transferred to* '*a*' *stem:*

Mbh. Pulomasya 1.7.26 (*v.l.* pulomna), vyapetadharmaḥ 1.71.52; tyakta-dharmaḥ 5.90.4.
(cf. tulya-dharmaḥ in *Svapna-Vāsavadatta-nāṭaka* vi. 10)

Rām. mahāpakṣmeṇa 3.69.29. brahman 7.109.14. bhinna-romāḥ 6.10.18. mahimām, 1.37.13 (-an changed to-ā stem).

(*b*) –'*im*' *stem transferred to-*'*i*' *stem* :

Mbh. śṛṅge 1.46.37 (*v.l.* śṛṅgiṇaḥ, śṛṅgiṇam), atandrīḥ 5.37.23 many v.l.)

Conversely-'*i*' *stem in transferred to-*'*in*' *stem*..

Mbh. śaktinam 1.166.36,37 (*v.l.* śaktim) but śakteḥ used in 1.54.2.

Rām. Keśarim 4.73.59, pakṣim 3.14.2.

Conversely in Rām.-'i' stem is sometimes changed to-'in' stem, eg. ariṣṭaneminam 6.66.4, 7.90,5 ; aśva-patinaḥ 7.100.4; gādhinaḥ 1.18.40; padātinām 6.90.54; śara-cāpāsi-pāṇinau 3.2.11.

(*c*) –'*is*' *stem transferred to-*'*i*' *stem* :

Mbh. daśa-jyoteḥ 1.1.43 (no *v.l.*) sahasra-jyotiṣaḥ 1.1.44.

Rām. arci-māli 5.53.40 pāvakāroi-samāviṣṭaḥ 6.75.4 jyoti-mukha 6.59.42, tejo-jyoti-hāraḥ 1.26.10.

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(*d*) *–'as' stem transferred to-'a' stem :*

Mbh. vanaukānām 5.118.3 (no *v.l.*), mahad-yaśaḥ 1.21.6, triśirāḥ (pl. for triśirasaḥ) 5.9.35.

Rām. apsarāḥ (pl.) 1.45.32, apsarāṇām 1.45.34, tigma-tejau 3.69.36, ati-yaśaḥ (masc.) 1.14.21, vyathitamanaḥ (masc.) 3.62.20, alpa-cetaḥ (masc.) 4.13,27, durvacaḥ (masc.) 2.1.24, śreyam 7.22.21, ruddha-srotam 7.63.41, śuṣka-srotam (nadīm) 5.21.15, pururavam 7.56.26 (purūravasya in Kāṭhaka viii. 10), triśiraḥ 3.32.10.

(*e*) *–'as' stem transferred to-'asa' stem* :

prasannāditya-varcasam *Mbh.* 5.52.8

(*f*) *–'as' stem transferred to-'asā' stem.* :

Rām. apsarasālayam 6.46.15; gandharvāpsarasāyute 7.115.7, (cf. Skt. tamas→tamasā)

(*g*) *–'ad' stem transferred to-'ada' stem* :

Rām. sāṅgopāṅgopaniṣadaḥ (sing.).

(*h*) *–'us' stem transferred to-'u' stem* :

Mbh. āyoḥ 1.70.23 (no *v.l.*), but āyuṣa in the next line.

(*i*) *–'ī' stem transferred to–'i' stem :*

Rām. atandribhyām 2.53.3 pañcavaṭir iti śruṭḥ 3.18:5 patnayaḥ 1.36.22; patniṣu 1.37.6. śataghnayaḥ 6.76.68,

(such usages in Vedic : patnibhiḥ Ap. Śr. xlv. 15.2, *TB.* ii.3.10; senānibhyaḥ *Yv.* xvi. 26; pṛthiviṣṭhāh *Ṛgv.* vii 18.23)

(*j*) *–'i' stem transferred to-'i' stem :*

Rām. śaktibhiḥ 6.86.21, ratha-sakṭibhiḥ 6.71.14.

Mbh. śaktī 5,152.3, śaktyaḥ 5.139.40 (*v.l.* śaktayaḥ), aśanī (fem.) 5.185.12 (*Rām.* 1.26.35, 7.7.49) nemī (for nemi) 4.11.13.

Rām. veda-śrutīm 3.50.22, pūrṇāhutīm 7.118.31, yajña-vibhūtī 7.65.8. There are some regular cases of transfer of fem-i to-ī stems, such as araṇi, marīcī, rājī, rātrī, vedī etc.

(*k*) *Fem.–'ṛ' stem transferred to-'ā' stem :*

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śvasām. *Mbh* 6.112.3, 14.16.12, *Rām.* 7.12.2.

We have not taken into account stem-transfers involved in metrical shortening or lengthening e.g. ayatī *Mbh.* 5.39.7 (*Rām.* 5.19.12), śaṁtanū (*Mbh.* 5.47.35), Yāmuna (*Mbh.* 5.118.1), anukramaṇi (*Mbh.* 1.1.62.129), raśmī *Mbh.* 5.153.12 (but see pw). Metrical lengthening is found in classical Sanskrit, but shortening is comparatively rare; only three examples are found in Kālidāsa viz, kākali, dūti and vaidehi. Most metrical lengthenings are irregular and not sanctioned by Pāṇini, but some like aśani, pariṇāha, parīvāra, pratīkāśa, pratīkāra are permitted.

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SOME PECULIAR WORDS FROM THE *BṚHATKATHĀ-KOŚA*—A LINGUISTIC STUDY

Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, Poona

The *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (A. D. 931-32) which is an anthology of Jain stories in Sanskrit contains a number of peculiar words which deserve a special linguistic study. On them, I have already read two papers in the last two annual meetings of the Linguistic Society of India held in the Deccan College, Poona. This paper is my third contribution to the 'Studies in the vocabulary of the *Bṛhatkathākośa*'.

१. **आजवञ्जव**—g. saṁsāra, transmigratory circuit

(a) पूतिगन्धोदितं श्रुत्वा बभाणेमां महामुनिः ।
भक्तिनिर्भरचेतस्कामाजवञ्जवभीलुकाम् ॥ 57. 218

(b) आजवञ्जवतो भीतो निर्विण्णो मुनितामितः । 76. 212

(c) एवं जीवन्नरो लोके मृत्युव्याघ्रेण भीषितः ।
आजवंजवकूपेऽस्मिन् पतितः स वितिष्ठते ॥ 92. 12

(d) जिनधर्मं विना मित्र स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदायकम् ।
आजवंजवदुःखानि प्राप्स्यसि त्वं विमूढधीः ॥ 93. 124

(e) भूयो मिथ्यात्वदोषेण परिभ्रम्याजवंजवम् ।
अभवच्च महावीरः तीर्थकृच्चरमः पुनः ॥ 111. 15

(f) श्रुत्वा धर्मं मुनेः पार्श्वे भ्राम्यति स्माजवंजवम् । 126. 245

The word seems to defy etymological explantion.

कङ्काल—Poor and destitute

नामवादी जगादेमं कङ्कालसमविभ्रमम् । 146. 8

(cf. the Marathi word 'kamgāla')

कच्छिक—a florist

कच्छिकः कुन्ददन्तोऽस्य भार्या कुमुददन्तिका । 56. 139

Sk. कक्षिकः> कच्छिय> कच्छिक (hyper-Sanskritisation)

करपालिका—a sword scimitar

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(a) विश्वदेवीवचः श्रुत्वा नमिना करपालिका ।
कृता मृत्स्नासमुत्पन्ना जनमानसहारिणी ॥ 98. 71

करवालिका 123. 7
करवाली 66. 92 ; 156. 40
करवालम् 11. 47
करवालिका> करपालिका (hyper - Sanskritisation)

कल्पपाली—a wife of a liquor-seller
(कल्यपाल or कल्पपाल)

ददर्श कंसमञ्जूषां कल्पपाली 106. 145
कल्लालिका - यदि कल्लालिके नूनं त्वत्पुत्रो न भवत्ययम् 106. 174

कल्लाल—(a) शिवभूतिं जगौ सोऽपि पिबन्तं मद्यमादरात् ।
कल्लालेन समं तत्र पूर्णभद्रेण भूपते ॥ 31. 25

(b) कल्लालसंगतो राज्ञा विप्रो निर्घाटितः पुरात् ॥ 31. 33

Sk. कल्पपाल or कल्यपाल) } कल्वाल> कल्लआल> कल्लाल> कलाल (Marathi)

कुश, कुशक, कुशी, कुशिका—a metal piece (cf. Pk. कुसी)

(a) एकं कुशं समादाय सौवर्णं स तदन्तरा । 104. 12
(b) एकैकं तं समादाय कुशकं लोहनिर्मितम् । 104. 19
(c) अष्टानवतिरन्यास्ताः कुशिका लोहमूल्यतः । 104. 36
(d) एकां कुशीं समादाय नरनाग त्वदन्तिकम् । 104. 37

कुहिणी—D. road

ततोऽपि गच्छतस्तस्य कुहिण्यां स तुरंगमः ।
प्रयातः पञ्चतां..... 93. 68

केरा—g. सेवा service

कारयित्वा निजां केरां सन्धिं वा सार्वकालिकाम् 11. 92

ग्रामकूटः—D. *gāmauḍa , gamaūḍa* the village headman

(a) सुदासोऽत्र पृथुग्रामे ग्रामकूटो महाधनः । 71. 3
(b) इदमेवोदितं सर्वं ग्रामकूटैरपि स्फुटम् । 79. 7

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(c) सिंहसेनोऽभवत् तत्र ग्रामकूटो महाधनः । 86. 7

(d) जिनपालितसंज्ञस्य ग्रामकूटस्य कन्यका । 135. 7

(e) सुतावचनतस्तेन ग्रामकूटेन वेगतः ।
निजगेहं समानीतो भूपतिः..... ॥ 135 12

In a corresponding context Kannada Vaḍḍarādhane uses *gāvuṁḍa*, present day Kannaḍa *gauḍa*, *geuṁḍa*.

पडिकः—v. 1. पडक, पण्डुक, पढुक, D. Paḍḍaya, paḍḍiā, a calf

(a) हतो हतोऽमुनानेन विधिना पडकः सकः । 121. 13

(b) हित्वा सा महिषी यूथं प्रसूतान्यत्र पंडुकम् (v. 1. पडुकम्) 121.15

(c) दृष्ट्वाऽमुं पडिको (v. 1. पट्टिको) दूराद् गोविन्दं.....नतमस्तकः ।
121. 17

(d) ततो जातिस्मरो भूत्वा पढुको विनयानतः 121. 19

पादोगमन—a kind of fasting unto death also पादोपगमन

(a) महाकालस्य चोद्याने पादोगमनमृत्युना ।
स्थास्यत्ययं मुनिः..... 126. 236

(b) पादोपगमनं मृत्युं वाञ्छन्नत्र वने सुधीः । 128. 16

cf. Sk. प्रायोपगमन, पादपोपगमन

Sk. पादपोपगमन> पायवोगमन > पाअवोपगमन> पावोपगमन>
पादोपगमन (hyper-Sk.)

प्रयातना—g. प्रतिमा also प्रतियातना, यातना an image, idol

(a) समस्तलक्षणोपेतां सर्वावयवसुन्दरीम् ।
लेपकारश्चकारैतां पार्श्वनाथप्रयातनाम् ॥ 20. 19

(b) पञ्चचापशतोत्सेधां कारयध्वं प्रयातनाम् । 78. 253

(c) व्रजन्नमितवेगोऽयं गृहीत्वा प्रतियातनाम् । 56. 16

(d) धाराशिवप्रपाल्यां च दृष्ट्वा निक्षेपयातनाम् । 56. 51

(e) वासुपूज्यजिनेन्द्रस्य विचित्रां प्रतियातनाम् ।
कारयित्वा विधातव्या सपर्या परमोत्सवा ॥ 57. 329

(sk) प्रयाजना> पयायणा> प्रयातना (hyper-Sanskritisation)

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प्राशुक—प्रासुक, pk. फासुग, free from living beings

(sk.) स्वार्शुक> फासुग> प्राशुग (hyper-Sanskritisation)

(a) ततो गृहाण सन्मृत्स्नां प्राशुकां मदुपाहृताम् । 7. 95

(b) मयाऽयमुदितः साधुः प्राशुकं शीतलं जलम् ।
मदानीतं पिब क्षिप्रं..... 133. 8

प्रोषध—a religious fast चतुर्षु पर्वस्वप्येष प्रोषधं प्रविधाय च ।
ऐकवस्त्रधरो धीरः शर्वरीप्रतिमामधात् ॥ 10. 3

(sk). अपवसथ> अपोसह> पोसह> प्रोषध (hyper-Sanskritisation)

व्रजन—g. विवाह, marriage

cf. प्रजन (a) व्रजनं च विधायास्याः महादेवीपदं ददौ । 55. 229

(b) अकृत्वा व्रजनं तस्या नन्दोऽपि धनतृष्णया ।
यात्रया चलितः..... 126. 126

(sk.) व्रजन> वयण> पजन (hyper-Sanskritisation)

सौलिका—g. कांवळी, a crow

(a) चूतवृक्षेषु चैतस्मिन् सर्पमादाय सौलिका ।
फलिते भक्षयन्तीमं तरां मुदितमानसा 102 (6). 5

(b) गृहीत्वा तं करं शीघ्रं सौलिका गगनस्थिता ।
भ्राम्यति स्म यशोऽस्येव दर्शयन्तीव नाकिनाम् ॥ 139. 53

(c) भ्रमन्त्याः सौलिकायाः खे स्थितायाः
.....पपात सहसा.....करः..... । 139. 54

According to Bloomfield ("Some aspects of Jaina Sanskrit" in the *Festschrift Wackernagel*, pp. 220 ff.), the Sanskrit Lexieon of the future will have much business with Jain Sanskrit. This study of a few peculiar words in the *Bṛhatkathā-kośa* suggests that the author Hariṣeṇa must have based his *Kathākośa* on some Prākṛt commentary on the *Bhagavatī Ārā-dhanā*. Certain other words which cannot otherwise be explained suggest that the author must have had Prākṛt as his mother-tongue. Hyper-Sanskritisation is a prominent tendency of Hariṣeṇa, i.e. he changes good Sanskrit words which have a Prākritic phonism into seemingly better Sanskrit. The various linguistic traits which are noted above also confirm the possibility of a Prākrit source before the author.

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SO:RA : LOANS IN ORIYA

Prof. Siddheshwar Hota, Parlakhemundi

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION : Oriya is the developed form of Oḍravibhāṣā of *Nāṭyaśāstra* ; and is still regarded as the current speech of the Oḍra race, the fallen Kshatriyas of *Manusaṁhitā* and the first race to fly from the " Āryāvartta " and to settle in the South. For centuries due to the interminglings of the Oḍras with the aborigines of the South, borrowings and inter-borrowings of their speeches took place to a great extent and the earliest authentic records of Utkal and Kalinga, e. g. the rock Edicts of Asoka on Dhauli and Jaugarha, prove the Western-border of India as the home of Non-Indo-Aryans specially of Khonds and Savaras, as well as the Indo-Aryans specially the Oḍras. Lord Jagannath, the most-beloved deity of Savaras, is still worshipped by the Oḍra Brahmins ; this cult originated at Śrīkṣetra, the modern Puri which is the centre of Orissa, is the most undisputed testimony of the fusion of the Savaras and Oḍras. This is not only true in religion and culture but is also predominating in languages and dialects. It has been found that many Savaras live in small groups in the present political Orissa specially in the western-parts of Cuttack district, central and northern parts of Puri district, southern and western parts of Ganjam district, north-western parts of Vizagapatam district, and Srikakulam district, and central and southern parts of Koraput district.

LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION:—In spite of the reactionary invasions of the so-called Aryans, the "Savaras" had a very illuminating civilization and culture of their own ; and continued this in diverse ways. As the "Savari" institutions of religion, sociology and politics were of the most developed type, they were spread over with a good number of castes and tribes developed from time to time from the Pre-Aryan periods to the classical age of the Aryan Culture. Though they had to face the uncommon obstaeles they are still living in many parts of India particularly in Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, Uttarpradesh, Vishal Andhra and Madras. Due to such long intercourse of Savaras with Oḍras,

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both the races acquired from each other a number of expressions and speech-varieties; the scheme of which facilitates a direct appreciation of the walks of life in which the Soura and Odra populations intermingled.

On account of the predominating supremacy of the Aryan politics, administration and sociology, the Non-Indo-Aryan races and cultures were diminished to a few remnants of expressions and words. Consequently the So:ra: language has now occupied the position of an uncultivated language like other Non-Indo-Aryan Languages and dialects without any standard literature either recorded or unrecorded. Naturally it has assimilated more expressions and speech-varieties from other Non-Indo-Aryan languages and dialects specially from Oriya ; and on the other hand it has contributed less to Oriya. That is why "Savara" has acquired a number of variants e. g. Śavara> Śauara> Sawara> Saoarā> Soarā> Sorā (but pronounced as So:ra:). The scheme of borrowing from each other is discussed below under the subject-headings.

A. *PHONOLOGY*: The language is being modified by a long contact of the attraction of sounds, borrowings of vocabulary of different varieties; and thus Oriya has received some sharp and slurred tones from the So:ra:, which on the otherhand, has donated to Oriya the accented and unaccented shifts of sounds more and more. The scheme of phonologieal values is herewith discussed under two broad heads i.e. (I) Affected and (II) Unaffected.

(*I*) *AFFECTED* :-(a) Aspirated initial and medial sounds are non-Aspirated in So:ra: *or vice versa* in some cases as in a> a: a:> a, a> u, a> i, a> i:, i> a, u> u:, u> e:, u> o, o> u, kh > k, kh> kk, ch> s, ṭh> t, ṭh> ṭṭ, ṭh> tt, th> dh> d, s> ch, dh> d, jh> j, bh> b, n> d, s> s, s> s, and so on.

Name of the sound with its changing values.	*...Name of Languages.* *Oriya*	*So: ra:*
a> a: (in all positions)	Sapa 'mat'	Sa: pa:
	Sankrati	Sankra:nti "the month corresponding to January'.
	Sasta	Sasta: 'cheap'

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a: > a	Initially	Kantaṛa	Kantaru 'famine'
		Pagala	<Pangala 'madness'.
a> i:	finally	Bitta 'property'	Bitti:
a> u	finally	Khabara 'news'	Khabaru.
a> u:	Initially	Saka: la 'early'	Suka:l
	finally	Kantara 'famine'	Kantaru.
			garij
i> a	finally		> gara 'the top of a dome' or zenith.
u > u:	finally	Saru 'thin'	Saru:
u> e:	Initially	Sukhaṃ	Se: kham 'happiness'
u> o	Initially	Sunari	Sonna: ri 'goldsmith'.
		Kūḍi 'twenty'	Kordi'.
		Gutta	Goti 'farming and labour'
u> o	Initially	Duśa> Doṣa	Doṣa 'fault'.
		Ruga 'Pain'	Roga.
		Tuṇḍa 'mouth'	Toṇḍa.
o> u	Initially	Loṛḍa	Luḍa 'to want, to need.'
		Doṣa	Dusa 'to censure'.
Kh> k	Initially & medially	Khabara 'news'	Kabaru.
		Khoja:	Kojja: 'sweatmeets'.
		Khura:	Kora 'hoof'.
	medially	A: khu	A: ku' Sugarcane'.
	& finally	Sukha	Se: ka 'Happiness'.
		Mukha	Muka 'face'.
Kh> Kk	finally	Okha	Okka 'habit'.
		Lekha	Lekka 'to count'.
ng> nk.	finally	Doṅga	Doṅka. 'height'
Ch> s.	Initially	Chena:	Senna: 'Cheese'.
		Chatta	Satta: 'Umbrella'.
		(Dialectal). Chappa	Sappa 'Small mat'.
		Chinile	Sinile 'recognised'
	Medially	Kacheri	Kasori 'Court'
	Finally	Chunci'	Sunsi 'needle'
		Marica/cha,	Marissa 'Pepper'.
		Chotta: 'lame'	Sotta: 'Lame'.

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jh > j	Initially	Jhumpa : Jumpa : 'a cluster'.
th > tt	Finally	Kaṭha :u. 'Wooden sandal' Kaṭṭa:u.
th > tt	finally	Pothi 'book' Potti.
th > t	finally	Ratha 'Car' Ratau. Kaitha 'Wood apple'. Kaita. Kantha 'Wall'. Kintal.
th > dh > d	finally	Jagannatha. Jagannadha > Jagannaː da. 'Hindu deity.'
d > dh	Initially	Dha:ṅgadi 'a young woman' Dha:ṅgad Dharama 'Charity'. Daramma.
	Medially	Pandhoyi. Pandoyam. 'shoe'. (Lw. Dravidian.)
Finally	Budha	Buda 'A proper name of a man born on Wednesday.'
	Suṇḍhi	Soṇḍi or Suṇḍi. 'A man of the Sondi caste.'
	Bandha	Banda. 'a tank'.
	Samandhi	Samandi 'Father-in-law of a son or daughter.'
	Bandha	Banda. 'A mortgage.'
	Madhaba	Madaba 'a man of noble caste.'
	Bandhu. Bandu.	'friend'

Name of the Sound with changing values.	*Name of Languages.* *Oriya.*	*So:ra:*
ṇ > n finally	bhauṇi	bonni 'sister-in-law'.
	Aṇa : 'One anna'	Ona :
ṇ > ḍ finally	Ba:hmaṇa	Bamhəḍa: 'A brahmin'.
bh > b Initially	Bhala 'good'	Ballusa or Balosa 'very well'.
	Bhāri 'filled up'	Bārij 'to fill'.
	Bhoji	Bo:ji 'A banquent'.
	Bhauṇi > Bhagini. Skt.	Bonni 'sister-in-law.'
finally	Tabha: 'Orange'	Tabai.
b > bh Finally	Sabui. 'all'	Sabhui 'All'.
S > s Initially	Səgəḍa: 'bullock cart'	Səgəḍa'a 'cart'.

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(b) Elision of the medial 'h' of Oriya words in So:ra:.

EXAMPLES:—Name of the sound with positions.	*Name of the Language. O'riya.*	*So: ra:*
Elision of 'h' Medially.	A:huri. 'Excess'	Aur (Verb). 'to become large'
	Bra:hmana	Ba:m-nda Brhman cook.'
	Guha:ri 'a complaint'	Guaːri'a 'a cry, a complaint'.
	Gamha:ri.	Guma:ri 'a variety of a big gourd'.
	Sa.huka:ra. 'A money lender'	Sauma:r.
Finally	Loha. 'Iron'	Loan.
	Sāhu 'Money-Lender'.	Sāun. etc. etc.

(c) Change of initial and medial 'L' to 'N' or 'N' in some examples of Oriya to So:ra: is equally prominent, and other sounds like 'd' to 'n', 'l' to 'd', and vice-versa.

EXAMPLES;—

Name of the sound with change of quality.		*Name of the Languages. Oriya.*	*So:ra:.*
D ⋖ N.	medially	Paṇasa	Padasa 'Jack-fruit'.
l ⋗ n or l	initially	Loda:	Luda: or Noda: 'to want or to read.'
l ⋗ ḍ	finally	Jua:li	Jua:ḍi. 'a pair'..
		Muḷa	Muda 'Chief'.
		Meli 'Mutiny'	Media.
	medially	Tulile 'weighted'	Tudile.
		Kalia 'Blacksmith'	Kaḍia.

(i) Elision of 'U' sound introduces a nasal sound in the middle of a So:ra: word changing from Oriya, as its source.

Oriya:	*So::a:.*
Kauri or Kaudi.	Kaṇḍi. 'a cowry'.

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It is a single instance as obtained; and therefore I am of opinion that it is a very peculiar phenomenon in So:ra: language current in the bilingual area of the border lands of Orissa and Andhraprades.

(d) Consonants in medial positions in Oriya words are generally reduplicated in So:ra:, and as a result some of them are serving as examples of Semantic changes.

Name of sounds with changing values	*Name of Languages* *Oriya*	*So:ra:*
P. finally.	Rupa	Ruppa 'Colour, form'.
B. finally.	Sabui	Sabbui 'all, whole.'
N. medially.	Sunāri	Sonna:ri 'Goldsmith'.
M. finally.	Karma. 'destiny'	Karamma.
N. finally.	Mana ≺Skt. Manas	Manassi. 'mind'.
D. So:ra:/Oriya. Muḍa. Mula. 'main or chief'.		So:ra.. Muḍḍa. 'ant'. An example of Semantic Change.
M. finally.	Dharama. 'Charity'.	Dharamma. 'charity'.
Ṇ≻N (reduplicated).	Bhauṇi. 'Sister'.	Bonni. 'Sister-in-law.'
L. medially.	Bala 'good'.	Ballusa 'Very well'.
J. finally.	Khaja:	Kojja: 'a kind of sweet-meat.'

(e) Syllabic - Extension has most probably crept from Non-Indo-Aryan Languages specially from So:ra: into New Indo-Aryan Languages specially to Oriya.

(i) Vocables of two-syllables in Oriya≻tri-syllables in So:ra:

Oriya:—	*So:ra*: :
Bhala. 'good'.	Bhallusa. 'very well'.
Pārā. 'pigeon'.	Pa:rua:. 'pigeon'
Kaṇṭa. 'to promise'.	Kaṇaṭṭu. 'to promise'.
Muṇḍa. 'head.'	Muṇḍḍa 'Proper name, i.e. Name of a So:ra:,
Kaṅki. 'a butter-fly'.	Kaṅkidi or Kankudi. 'a butterfly'

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(ii) Vocables of three-syllables in Oriya > Four-syllables in So:ra:

Oriya :—	*So:ra*:—
Jagata 'world'	Joganada 'world'.
Karama 'destiny'.	Kənaramma 'destiny'.
Kabba:ri or Kabba:rdi. 'work'	Kərabba:ḍi 'slavery'.
Kimbhira 'crocodile'	Kima:r-ən (dial.) 'crocodile'
Inglis 'English'.	Ingilisu 'English'.

This linguistic character may be clearly satisfied with the examples discussed under (g) for illustrating the 'Anaptyxis'.

	So:ra:	*Oriya*.
(iii)	Two syllbales in So:ra:	> Tri-syllable in Oriya.
	Kumṭi. 'tradesman'.	Kumuṭi. 'tradesman.'
	Kuṇḍla 'leaf attached like a cup.'	Kuṇḍala 'A particular kind of ear ornament.'
	Patra 'letter.'	Pattara 'Leaf'.

As the So: ra: < Śavara has the cultural and linguistic antiquities long before the origin of Oriya, the element of the Syllabic expansion may be just a chance of the most predominating feature in its course of development. It may be inferred that this element is the only factor which has crept into the NIA specially into Oriya which I have tried my best to illustrate below in the course of its development.

Though there has been a general tendency of shortening in the number of syllables in Indo-Aryan Languages from the Vedic stage of OIA to the stage of NIA through the MIA, Oriya has played in addition to this element, a peculiar tendency of expanding syllables more or less in regularity in the number of syllables of vocables of either the *Tatsama* or the Semi-*tatsama* or the *Tadbhava* or the *Deśi*. In order to have a clear idea of this above-mentioned peculiar linguistic phenomenon the tendency of shortening in the number of syllables from the Vedic stage of the OIA to the NIA are illustrated below :—

Vedic stage of the OIA. period:— (*Loss of interior semivowels*)

*gavaṃ > *gaaṃ > gam. 'Speech, cow'.

Śraviṣṭhaṃ > *Śraiṣṭha > Śreṣṭham.

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MIA. Stage:—Inter-vocal non-aspirate plosives.

Thus, Skt. *Avalokayati* (Six syllables)/Pāli. *Oloketi* (four syllables).

NIA stage:—Oriya, Hindi and Bengali etc.

Skt. Vahitrapāla 'Ship-Captain'> Beng. Buitāla (Late Middle Bengali, (6-3)> Early and Late Mid. Oriya. Boitāḷa (6-3).

Modern Oriya. Boitihala (6-4). An example of Syllabic-Expansion.

Oriya has the element of the normal process of Syllabic-reduction like Bengali, Hindi and other forms of NIA Languages. The following examples may serve the purpose of discussion.

(*i*) *Reduction by one-fourth.*

OIA. Patrāvaḷi> Oriya. Paṭāḷi 'the underground' (4–3).

OIA. Pāṭalaka> Pāṭaḷi. 'Temple' (4–3).

OIA. Mudrāḷika> Oriya. Muduli. (4–3). 'A class of Sevakas in the temple of the Lord Jagannath.'

(*ii*) *Reduction by one-third.*

OIA. Doḷaka> Oriya. (Early Middle Oriya.) Dolā. 'Swing'. (3–2)

OIA. Bhāṇḍaka> Late. Mid-Oriya. Haṇḍā. 'Earthern Vessel' (3–2)

OIA. Catuṣka> Early Mid-Oriya. Caka (3-2) 'Rectangular'.

(*iii*) *Less than half-reduction in the number of syllables.*

OIA. *Saubhagaṭaka> Early Oriya. Soharḍa. (5-3) 'beautiful.

OIA. Kṛtyagrahaka> Middle and Mod. Oriya. Kacēri. (5–3) Bengali. Kachari. 'Office'.

OIA. Granthādhikṛta> Gantaitā. (Early and Middle Oriya.) (5–3) 'Librarian.'

OIA. Amāvāsyika 'New-moon'> Uāṅsa (5-3). Mid. Oriya.

(*IV*) *Reduction by half.*

**OIA. Lunthāpaka 'Looter'> Mid. Oriya. Loṭā (4–2).

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* Dr. S. Sen's paper on "*Syllable - Expansion in Oriya*" has been consulted. (Bull. Calcutta Philological Society, vol. 17. p. 23. Calcutta)

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OIA. Kṣudratātaputra 'Son of father's younger brother'> Early Mid-Oriya. Khuṛḍutā. (6–3).

OIA. Jyēṣṭhatātāputra 'Son of father's elder brother'> Early Middle Oriya. Jērḍuta. (6–3).

OIA. Upādhyāya 'Teacher'> Early Oriya. Ojhā. (4–2).

(*v*) *Reduction by more than half.*

OIA. Kāṣṭhapādukā 'Wooden sandal'> Beng. and Oriya. Kharaṃ. Oriya. Kharḍaṃ. (5–2).

(*vi*) *Reduction by two-thirds.*

OIA. Pitṛṣvasāpati. 'Husband of father's sister'> Oriya. Pisā Bengali. Pisā. (6–2).

OIA. Āyātayāyāta. 'coming and going'> Ājā. Oriya. (6–2).
OIA. Navati. 'Ninety'> Oriya. Nau. (3–1).

The foregoing instances clearly prove the tendency of shortening in the number of syllables in a word like other NIA Languages. But in Oriya there has been regular forms of the opposite type i.e. Syllabic-Extension instead of the element of shortening the number of syllables and such feature is a strange factor with other NIA. This type of Syllabic-Extension is only possible due to ignorance or contamination in other NIA as well as in Oriya.

Apart from such general characteristics of the NIA Oriya has got throughout the regular feature of syllabic-expansion in words of *Tadbhava*, *Tatsama*, Semi-*tatsama*, *Deśi* and Loan words caused either by phonology or by morphology.

PHONOLOGY:—(i) Syllabic-Extension is regular in the vocables containing the cluster nasals plus sibilants by an elongation of nasals.

Examples:—

OIA. Vaṁśa 'bamboo'> Oriya. Bauṅśa 'bamboo'.
OIA. Vaṁśa 'family'> Oriya. Bauṅśa. 'family'.
OIA. Pāṁśu 'dust'> Oriya. Pāuṅśa. 'Ashes'.
OIA. Māṁsa 'meat'> Oriya. Māuṅsa. 'meat'. Mūēṅsa.
OIA. Vaṁśī 'flute'> Oriya Bainsi. 'flute'.

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OIA. Daṁśa 'a particular kind of insect'> Oriya. Dāuṅśa. Old. Oriya. Dāensa. 'insect'.

OIA. Kāṁsabāṁsa 'Name of a river'> Old and Mid. Oriya Kāaṅsabaānsa. Kaēṅsabāensa.

(ii) By an operation of Anaptyxis. The following examples may be quite suitable for the occasion.:—

OIA. Murkha 'idiot'> Murukha. Oriya. (STs).
OIA. Durga 'fort'> STs. Oriya. Duruga 'fort'.
OIA. Bhakta 'devotee' > STs. Oriya. Bhakata.
OIA. Śakti 'power'> STs. Oriya. Śakati 'Power'
OIA. Kīrti. 'fame'> STs. Oriya. Kīrati. 'fame'.
OIA. Muktā, 'Emerald'> STs. Oriya. Mukutā. 'Emerald'.
OIA. Sūrya. 'The sun'> STs. Oriya. 'Suruja' 'The Sun'. etc.

(iii) Syllabic-Extension appears in connection with (a) Sonants:

OIA. Nṛpa 'King'> Oriya. Nurupa. 'King'.
OIA. Kṛpā 'Compassion'> Oriya. (STs.). Kurupā 'Pity'.
OIA. Śruti 'Ear'> Oriya. (STs.). Śuruti. 'Ear'.
OIA. Kṛti 'work'> Oriya. (STs.) Kuruti. 'works'.

(iii.b) by diphthongs (Semivowels).

OIA. Sainya. 'Army'> Oriya. Sayina. 'Army'.
OIA. Śaila 'hill, rock'> Oriya. Sayila or Sayala 'hill, rock'. etc.

(c) Semi-vowels and 'h' sounds introduced as glidic sound.

OIA. Brahmāṇī> Oriya. (Early). Brahmayēṇi 'the wife of the creator.'
OIA. Indrāṇī 'wife of Indra.' > Early Oriya. Indrāyaṇī.
OIA. Rudrāṇī 'wife of Śiva' > Rudrāṇi> Ṛdrāyaṇi. Early and Mid. Oriya.
OIA. Snāna 'bath'> Early and Middle Oriya. Snāhāna. Mod. Snāhāna 'Bathe'.
OIA. Śvāsa 'breath'> Suhasa 'Breathlessness or Asthmatic troubles'.
OIA. Maḷa 'Dirty'> Oriya. Mahaḷa. 'Dirty'.

MORPHOLOGY:— Vocables with pleonastic affixes at the MIA stage or the first stage of NIA are normally increased in the

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number of syllables; and consequently such element is of morphological but not phonological.

Examples :—

OIA. Kartā+dhi> Oriya. Kartāhi. 'The doer himself.'
OIA. √Kṛ.+Śatṛ> Oriya. Karābante 'Having done'.
Ap. √Goḍḍa+Śatṛ.> Oriya. Goḍābante 'Having chased.'
Pkt. √Bhañj.+Śatṛ.+Ena.> Oriya. Bhājantēna. 'Having retreated'.

The analysis of the Oriya Loan words in So:ra: bears a clear testimony of Syllabic-Extension as discussed in detail above. It is perhaps quite natural that the people being conversant with two languages as their mother tongue as in this case may be Oriya and So:ra: or any other Non-Indo-Aryan Languages or dialects might have introduced this unusual phenomenon into standard Oriya through the dialectal category. Therefore this type of Syllabic-Extension in So:ra: and Oriya may be a type of novelty in the domain of NIA Languages and dialects.

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SECTION XI : DRAVIDIC STUDIES

President : Prof. M. M. Bhat

1. Exceptions to the Palatalisation Law

   Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran

2. Conjugation in Tamil

   Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran

3. Kittel's etymolgy of certain Kannada words examined

   K. Shama Bhat

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   Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu

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EXCEPTIONS TO THE PALATALISATION LAW

T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Annamalainagar

Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu are characterised by the operation of the law of palatalisation according to which *k* followed by any front vowel becomes *c* in the initial position. There is an exception to this rule in Tamil and Malayalam, where the palatalisation does not occur if there is a cerebral sound in the succeeding syllable. *kinna* > *cinna* but *kiḷi* does not become *cili*, though in Telugu it becomes *ciluka*. But there are some instances like *ceṭi* from the root *keṭu* in Tamil as found in the *Tiruppati hymn* of Kulaśekhara. Such cases should be looked upon as diffusions from a common dialect area, lying on the border of the Tamil and Telugu region. In addition to this, there are other exceptions where the palatal appears to be followed by a back vowel in the South Dravidian whilst *k* appears instead of that *c* in the north Dravidian e.g. *cuṭu* in Tamil, *kur* in Kurkh and Malto ; *cuma* in Tamil, *kum* in Kurkh, Malto ; *curi* in Tamil and *kur* in Kurkh and Brahui; *curuṅku* in Tamil, *kurr* in Brahui.

In a recent paper on North Dravidian velar stops Dr. Emeneau has suggested proto-Dravidian *c* when followed by *u* becoming *k* in North Dravidian. Hockett in answering the question whether there is any general direction in sound change states that one can discover by gathering several examples that certain outcomes are more frequent and hence more probable than others. As an instance, he gives the extremely common palatalisation of the dorso velar stops in the vicinity of front vowels as against the velarisation of the palatals in the vicinity of back vowels. Therefore one must be wary of accepting this change suggested by Dr. Emeneau. The other possibility is to find out whether there is any other environment which will justify our stating that *k* has become *c* in these cases.

In various instances *u* and *i* interchange e.g. *puli* and *pili* etc. This suggests that there must be some sound which becomes the front *i* in some cases and back *u* in other cases. There is the so called *kuṛṛiyalukaram* in Tamil, the unrounded *u*. Ordinarily it

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is said to occur at the end of words following a voiceless stop. But even in *Tolkāppiyam* a case is noted of its occurrence in the initial syllable after the nasal *n*. In modern Tamil we have a number of instances of its occurrence in non-final position and in all these places Malayalam has *i*. The one instance given in *Tolkāppiyam* is the II person plural in the oblique case *num* followed by *tai* eg. *nuntai*. We must have *nim* instead of *num* as attested by forms like *nīṅkaḷ*, *nīm* in Tamil and also in corresponding forms in the other Dravidian Languages except Brahui, which however has only the Tamil form *nun*. What is significant about *Tolkāppiyam* is that it speaks of this *u* in *nu* as an unrounded *u* slowly coming to be pronounced as rounded *u*. This gives us a clue. We must posit therefore that this unrounded *u* at some earlier stage in the Proto-Dravidian which becomes the unrounded *u* or the front vowel *i*. The aberrant instances have to be examined as probably having the unrounded *u* which is centralised enough to bring about palatalisation.

In some of the aberrant cases one has *i* instead of *u* in some languages. Is the onomatopoetic burning sound *ciṭu* connected with *cuṭu*? But all the languages have *u*. As for *cuma*, one has *cimpuri* also in Tamil, *simbi* in Kannada. As for *curaḷ*, there is *cird* in Parji. As for *curuṅku* there is *sirntuni* in Tulu. As there is not space for collecting all the examples, this is left as a suggestion.

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CONJUGATION IN TAMIL

T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Annamalainagar

Several Research Students working under me for their research degrees have been developing a theory of Tamil conjugation explaining the various irregularities arising in the conjugation as being due to the retention of old forms along with new developments. In the absence of a full discussion a summary, as proposed here, may not give a correct picture, but nothing more can be attempted in this short paper.

Taking into consideration the past tense signs one has the following: (a) (dentals) *t*, *tt*, *nt* (b) cerebrals *ṭ*, *ṭṭ*, *ṇṭ* (c) alveolars *t̲*, *t̲t̲*, *n̲t̲* (this *t̲* is pronounced like a trill *r*) (d) *i*, *in̲*, *icin̲* (e) doubling of the plosives of the second syllable in open dissyllabic words. (a), (b), (c) can be taken as the variations of (a) according to the rules of sandhi *n̲*] *t* > *ṭ* ; *n̲*] *t*, *t̲*, (e) also can be brought under (a) the final *u* in these words being euphonic, disappears and *t* gets assimilated to the plosive ending of these roots; e. g. *nak'*, + *t* > *nakk'* ; *paṭ'* + *t* > *paṭṭ*.' *it'* + *t* > *itt'* etc. (d) occurs only after roots ending in the unrounded *u*; but there is reason to believe that in the ancient age this was much more frequent elsewhere as well.

As for the explanation of the three forms in each group, (d) can be explained as due to following tendencies :— (1) loss of final nasal (which first becomes denasalised into a lateral or nasalises the previous vowel and is finally lost: see *en̲* > *el̲*; *tēn* ~ *te* > *tē*] and (2) the disappearance of the intervocal plosives eg. *icin̲* > *in̲* > *i*. But the original *n̲* is preserved in the medial position e.g. *nuvan̲r̲icin̲ē* ; *cūṭin̲ān* ; but *n̲* is lost when final e.g. *cūṭi*.

The three forms in (a), (b), (c) have some uniformity; they are either single plosive or double plosives or coming together of the homorganic nasal followed by the plosive. These three forms are explained as being due to the roots originally ending (1) *in̲* vowels, (when one has only one plosive coming as tense sign); (2) In a Nasal (whose value has yet to be decided and which as

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final sound was lost remaining only to be recognised, in the past tense forms which preserve a nasal, as assimilated to the succeeding plosive, in the IV conjugation and XII conjugation as shown in the Tamil Lexicon) ; (3) in *n̲* and *ṉ* which become denasalised into *l* and *l̤* respectively, (here also the old form being preserved in the past tense forms :— see II & III conjugations) and (4) in *ṉ* and *n̲* which are still preserved even in the roots as such (see VII, VIII conjugation) ; (4) in glottal stop which gets assimilated to the following plosive of the case sign *asu* (See XI conjugation, and which makes the *l* or *l̤* preceding them to be assimilated to *ṯ* or *t* which is the shape *t* assumes after *l* or *l̤*, thus explaining in all the case the doubling of the plosive of the past tense sign.

The root may sometime take formatives like *ku* ; and the nasal of the root will be then preserved in some cases eg. *ila* (cf. *el*)+*N*+*K*> *ilaṅku*. The root+past tense sign with an euphonic *u*, gives us the conjunctive participle. *a n̲ a* added to tihs gives the relative participle ; (*n* is preserved only when occuring medially and not finally see *vantaṉa n̲*-*va n̲ta*). To this the finite gender and number suffixes are added and one gets the finite verbs. Usually these suffixes begin in a short vowel but thanks to the morphophoneme rule $\breve{V}^1+\breve{V}^2 > \breve{V}^2$ (or> $\bar{V}^2+\bar{V}^2$ in literary forms), becomes *ā* in combining with the *a* ending of the relative participle ; eg. *vantaṉa n̲* is the old form ; *vantā n̲* is not so old though as old as *Tolkāppiyam*, having been formed from *vanta*+*a n̲*. The *a n̲* as the suffix of the relative participle occurs in Telugu and by inverted interval reconstruction we reconstruct that in Tamil also ; though no relative participle ended in *n* in any Tamil record except medially in finite verbs. This *a n̲* suffers haplology after *i n̲* e.g. *cūṭi n̲ā n̲* instead of *cūtinān* of *cūti n̲aṉa n̲*.

There must have been a non-past relative participle *ceyva* similar to *geyva* in Kannada and the finite suffix *a n̲* etc. will give the finite form *ceyvā n̲* etc. *ceyva* is a latter form of *ceypa*, when *p* between vowels and semi-vowels becomes *v*. If *ceypa* is isolated as a relative participle according to the above explanation about its formation, and if the relative participle suffix *a* is removed, one must get the non-past verbal participle. One does get it as *ceypu*. In passing, one may add *e n̲pa* as a variant of *e n̲par*. On the same principle the relative participle *ceyki n̲ṟa* must give *ceyki n̲ṟu* as the present verbal participle. It is found that this

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form was current in the Pallava age though it was not known to a later age. The discovery of this old form through this theory proves the validity of this explanation.

There are certain verbs derived from primary nouns and occuring as predicates. These naturally are derived from the relative participle; cf. *nalla+aṉ>nallāṉ* etc., as distinguished from derived noun forms like *nal+aṉ >nallāṉ*. These former are called *Kuṟippu vinai* in Tamil as opposed to the latter called *peyar*. This seems to solve the problem of the difference between the noun and *kuṟippu vinai*.

But *ceypu* was of the same form as the verbal noun *ceypu* and adding the final suffix to this form, one can derive the noun *ceyvaṉ* [and not *ceyvān*] and due to a mistaken analogy, *aṉ* was added to other conjunctive participles as well. eg. *cūṭiṉaṉ*.

The negative participle is *al ~ a* and according to the rule $\breve{V}^1+\breve{V}^2>\bar{V}^2$ one gets the forms *cel-al* or *cei-a-eṉ> celēṉ* etc. *cel+a* [negative particle] + a [relative participle suffix]> *celā*. If from *celā* [the negative form] - the relative participle suffix *a* is removed one must get the verbal participle which is also *celā;* [*celātu* however is a later form in the analogy of *ceytu*]. If the negative participle *a* is removed one has *cela*, a variant of the root *cel* [cf. *cela–vu*].

This is nothing more than a cryptic summary useful and clear to those who work in this field.

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KITTEL'S ETYMOLOGY OF CERTAIN KANNADA WORDS EXAMINED

K. Shama Bhat, Perdala

From the earliest times Sanskrit has been wielding considerable influence over other Indian languages and their literature. While the Modern Indo-Aryan langauges are derived from it, the Dravidian languages have been borrowing from it freely.

True, the Dravidian languages have their own stock of words and position. But during their formative period, the period of their develoment, when they were in need of new words to express new ideas, it was most likely that they found it easier to borrow words from Sanskrit than to invent new words. Even today, if other Indian languages are in need of new words, to keep pace with the growing civilization, it is to this wonderful word-lender that they go.

Rev. F. Kittel in his monumental *Kannada-English Dictionary* has given us a good picture of Kannada words. Kannada, as the other Dravidian languages is full of Sanskrit words either *Tatsama* or *Tadbhava*. Kittel himself in the Preface to the Dictionary has remarked thus: "It is possible that a few of the words pointed out as Kannada will, by closer examination, prove to be foreign."

It is the aim here to show that several of the words given as pure Kannada by Kittel are derived from Sanskrit either directly or through Prakrits. The resemblance in the following cases is so conspicuous that it cannot be accidental but it will certainly establish the connection between Sanskrit and Kannada words, given below.

S. No.	Words examined.	Sanskri	Forms in Prakrits, etc.			Kannada.
1.	*An*	*Asmākam*	*Ammai*	*Ami*	*Am*	*An*
2.	*Nim*	*Yūṣmākam*	*Tushmake*	*Tumhe*	*Tumhi*	*Nimma* (*Kan.*)

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3.	*Tanna*	*Ātmana, Tmana*	*Tanna*
4.	*Idu*	*Idam*	*Idu*
5.	*Adu*	*Adas*	*Adu*
6.	*Inti*	*Iti*	*Inti*
7.	*Indu*	*Idānīm*	*Indu*
8.	*Tale*	*Śiras Sare Tare*	*Tale*
9.	*Kannu*	*Karṇa*	*Kanu*
10.	*Mugu*	*Mukham Moga*	*Mugu*
11.	*Kivi*	*Śravas Sevi*	*Kivi*
12.	*Gantalu*	*Kaṇṭha*	*Gantaln*
13.	*Kai*	*Kara Kaya (Saya)* ?	*Kai*
14.	*Beralu*	*Virala Veral (When expressing the idea of Virala show of fingers is common)*	*Beralu*
15.	*Ede*	*Hṛdaya Hedeya*	*Ede*
16.	*Kokku*	*Kukṣi Kukkhi Kukhi Kokh*	*Kokku*
17.	*Ishtu*	*Yavatika Jittiya Ittira Itra*	*Ishtu*
		Iyatika Ittiya	*Ishtu*
18.	*Gundi*	*Kundam Kundi Kundu*	*Gundi*
19.	*Id*	*Dvi*	*Id*
20.	*Hoge*	*Prabhā Paha Poha Poge*	*Hoge*

What is said of Kannada words will also apply to other Dravidian words. This is a field where the work of linguists will indeed bear good results.

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THE ADJECTIVE IN MALAYALAM

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This paper is about the status of adjectives in Malayalam. It concerns itself with the question whether the class of words described as adjectives in traditional grammars of the Malayalam language satisfies the conditions to be adjectives. The most representative and at the same time original study of adjectives in Malayalam made on traditional lines is included in the *Kerala Paniniyam* by A.R. Raja Raja Varma, known as Keralapanini, from his work. I shall refer to him in this paper with the abbreviation A. R.

A comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages by Caldwell was published before *Kerala Paniniyam*. His work too discusses abjctives, although it is more in the general Dravidian framework than in particular reference to any one Dravidian tongue. I shall refer to Caldwell's work in this paper by the name Caldwell.

In order to understand the conclusions of A. R. and Caldwell on the subject, we have to examine the approach they adopted in their analysis of language, which I have described above as traditional. I shall try to state here just exactly what is meant by this traditional approach.

One point to be understood in this connection is that A. R. and Caldwell like most grammarians of their period used the written language more than the spoken in their grammatical studies. It does not need much argument to show that there is at least an incompleteness in this approach and procedure. A more or less exclusive employment of the written language involves ignoring the fact that written language is at best only *one* of the forms a language may have. The limitations inherent in an exclusive employment of written language for grammatical deliberations are all the more pronounced in the case of languages in which due to a variety of socio-cultural causes the written language has moved a great deal from the popular tongue, and have even developed

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features which are foreign to the spoken language. Malayalam illustrates this point to some extent. The influence of Sanskrit, and the sociologically propelled infusion of Sanskrit features and rich vocabulary content are points to be remembered here.

Another feature which characterised the grammatical work of these traditional grammarians was the dominance of meaning as a factor in deciding grammatical theories and establishing grammatical categories. Among the three factors which are taken into account in classifying words, namely (1) meaning (2) form and (3) syntactical position, it is accepted now that the order in the significance of the guiding factor should be 3, 2, 1. To the traditionalist in grammar, the order was 1,2,3. To be more specific, the consideration of what was the meaning of a certain form, was given a ruling place in the determination of its grammatical class. Caldwell thus, in the beginning of his discussion on adjectives, makes what was to him a significant statement that a large number of the forms which he classed as adjectives were so only in function or meaning. In other words, these words *behave* as non-adjectives syntactically and morphologically. Nevertheless, he is strongly persuaded to class them as adjectives because the meanings of these forms perform qualifying functions. This feature of the traditional approach has, in my view, persuaded grammarians to class words wrongly.

We may pause here to give this problem a moment more of consideration. It can be safely asserted that the structure of a language is reflected in its syntax and morphology, more than in the meanings of forms. It is in syntax that the features which grammatical forms have are thrown into proper perspective. It is in syntax again that we are given an opportunity to watch the behaviour of words and word-groups, whether they are sentences or non-sentences. Next comes morphology, which we may describe as the grammatical behaviour of words in isolation. Function or meaning is largely a social factor, doubtless significant in the communicative process, but not so significant in the grammatical and syntactical identification of words.

Starting from this background, I plan to examine the word-groups which A. R. and Caldwell have given as adjectives. A.R. gives 4 classes of adjectives for Malayalam. Class I (*Nal*, *Nalla*,

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Ceṟiya, Periya) ; Class II *Kēmam* ; Class III Numerals ; Class IV *Vibhaktyābhāsas* or irregular cases. We may pause to ask a question here :—

What is the minimum syntactical requirement for an adjective ? To this I would give the answer that it must at least be a word. I may apply here a test which will show that the forms described as adjectives in Malayalam do not satisfy an operational condition which other parts of speech in Malayalam and other parts of speech and adjectives in English and Sanskrit satisfy. I call this a syntactical question-answer word-test. I shall show that a word which is a part of speech can also be an independent unit in a speech situation. The word-status of it can be shown through a question and answer test. Let us examine this. Thus Malayalam can have the following question-answer pattern :

	Q	A
(a)	*āru vannu* (who came)	*acchan* (Father)
(b)	Do	*avan* (he) *aval* (she) *atu* (it)
(c)	*avan entu ceytu* (what did he do ?) ,, ,, *ceyyunnu* (what does he do?)	*vannu* (he came) *varunnu* (he comes)
(d)	*nī eṅṅane vannu* (how did you come ?)	*oṭi* (running) *naṭannu* (walking)
(e)	*atu eṅṅane* (how is it ?)	*nallatu* (good) (not *nall*)
	eṅṅane ulla kuṭa (what kind of umbrella ?)	*nalla kuṭa* (good umbrella) (not just *nalla*) *oṭiñña kuṭa* (broken umbrella) (not just *oṭiñña*) *Pazham kuṭa* (old umbrella) (not just *pazham*)

The answers in the question and answer set (a) to (d), are respectively noun, pronoun, verb and non-finite verb. These words are complete utterances. But the sets in (e) presents a different picture. The forms which the traditional grammarian gives as

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adjectives just do not form a complete one-word utterance. They have to be modified or the whole utterance of which they form a part has to be given in order to form answer to a question. I consider that this militates against their traditionally-accepted word-status.

For the sake of contrast I shall take English. In English, adjectives satisfy the question-answer test just as words of other parts of speech.

Q	A	
Who came ? (what?)	the man	N
	he	PN
	she	PN
	it	PN
What did he do ?	walked	FN
How is it ?	good	Adj.
How did he walk ?	Fast, Quickly	Adv.
Where is it ?	Above	Preposition

It will thus be found that all parts of speech except conjunctions in English satisfy this test. Adjectives also satisfy this condition. In contrast with this, it has been found that words described as adjectives in Malayalam do not satisfy this condition. They are primarily not words.

I may also give another syntactical test to prove that a form which is a word can be an independent syntactical unit. I call this the sentence-end test. Here again I shall show that (i) the Malayalam adjective behaves differently from words in other parts of speech, and (ii) behaves differently from adjectives in English. Let us try some possible juxtapositions.

avan (he)	*Manuṣyan* (man)	N
	avan (he)	PN
	ivan (he)	PN
	atu (it)	PN
	poyi (went)	V
	pokunnu (goes)	V
	poyi (went)	NF

(good) *nalla* (not possible)

Pokunna **(not possible)**

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Based on the evidence given above, I conclude that the forms (i) *nal*, (ii) *nalla*, and (iii) *periya*, to take three representative forms are not complete words and as such they cannot be classified as adjectives. They are only adjectival in function. Form (iii) is a participial adjective and its meaning has lost its time content as Caldwell himself says[1]. Form (ii) is only got from form (i) by simply affixing, the sign of the relative participle, without the preterite *i* or any other sign of tense whatever found in Dravidian as Caldwell notes. The *i* is only a relative particle and is not an adjectival suffix. [2]

I also deal with in this same connection Class III adjectives of A. R., namely numerals. The same evidence as is given above is advanced to disprove that *oru* (one), *iru* (two) etc. which A. R. classifies as adjectives, are not so, since they are primarily not words. Is *oru* capable of being independently used? A. R. expresses that view. But the test given above will show that it is not so.

A.R's adjectives in Class II are words like *poḷḷa*, *cītta*, *kēmam*. Caldwell also considers these as adjectives. I come to the following conclusions about them; (a) these are doubtless complete words syntactically. They satisfy the tests I have used in regard to forms of Class I. (b) They are nouns, and not adje-

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(1) Thus Caldwell says: when these roots (*peru*, *śiru*) are regarded as verbs, their preterite relative participles are *perutta*, that was or became great, *śiṟutta*, that was or became small; in which participles the ideas of time and change are always included: whereas, when *peru* and *śiru* are regarded as nouns of quality, they are adopted for general use as adjectives by having *iya* fixed to them- e. g. *periya*, *śiṟiya* (*per'-iya*, *s' ir'-iya*). In this shape they mean simply great and small, without any reference to time: and in consequence of *iya* being so purely aoristic, adjectives of this mode of formation are largely used. Caldwell Page 314.

(2) Caldwell Page 314. He however calls these forms adjectives on the same erroneous basis as is used by him in his general study of adjectives- a basis valid in the traditional frame work of grammatical thinking.

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ctives, although they perform a qualifying function.' To prove (b) I adduce the following evidence.

Syntactical evidence:—Syntactically an adjective which is a complete word must precede the qualified noun, where the form is morphologically an adjective, and not a noun functioning as an adjective. E.g. good man.

In English it is also found that the juxtaposition of an adjective and the qualified noun is disturbed through intervention only by another adjective. So also in Sanskrit. E.g. good man.

English: good, strong, man and so on.
Sanskrit: *nīlam sūnam* (blue flower)
nīlam sundaram sūnam
(blue and beautiful flower)

The position of A. R's Class II adjectives is as follows: I shall show that it has the syntactical qualification of being nouns.

Possibles

Noun	*Eḷuppam* (easy)	*āyi* (became)
Pronoun	*avan* (he)	
Pronoun	*aval* (she)	
Pronoun	*atu* (it)	
	kēmam	

Impossibles

Present Finite verb	*naṭakkunnu* (walks)	*āyi* (not possible)
Present Participial form	*naṭakkunna* (walking)	...
Past Participial form	*naṭanna* (walked)	...
Past Finite verb	*naṭannu* (walking)	...

Notice that *kēmam* is in the group of nouns (pronouns) in its syntactical behaviour. That is, we can have the combination *Kēmamāyi* (It was good).

Morphological evidence:—I may also adduce morphological evidence in support of the position that Class II adjectives are only nouns.

(a) They can be operated with case-suffixes. *kēmam*, *kēmattil etc.*

(b) —*ttam* can be added to them to form abstract nouns. *kēmattam* like *maṇṭattam*.

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(c) Pluralisation *pollakal*.

(d) They form compounds of the co-ordinating class with characteristic phonetic changes. *Pollacciri* which may be split into '*polla āya ciri*'.

From these syntactical and morphological evidence, I conclude that class II adjectives are nouns.

The last Class of adjectives which A. R. gives is the irregular cases (*Vibhaktyābhāsas*). Examples are: *avanile, kāttile*. These according to him are adjectives. The definition of a *vibhaktyābhāsa* is that it is a *vibhakti* (a case-form) which is not so extensively employed as the normal *vibhakti*. But an examination will show that there is no diffirence syntactically and morphologically between a *vibhakti* and *vibhaktyābhāsa*. *Vibhakti* indicates: (1) the relationship between verb and noun. (2) or noun and noun (as for example genitive *Vibhaktyābhāsa* expresses the relationship between noun and noun), *kuḷattile tavaḷa* (Frog in the well) (*vibhaktyābhāsa*), *kuḷattil tavaḷa* (a frog (is) in the well (*vibhakti*). If vibhakti is not considered to be an adjective, then *vibhaktyābhāsa* also need not be. There is no justification for it.

The evidence of the Līlātilaka: The *Līlātilaka* which is a 15th century text on Malayalam Grammar written in the *Kārikā-and-vṛtti* style well-known in Sanskrit was the first extant grammar of the Malayalam language. Its evidence is of considerable importance in the study of Malayalam. One reason for the authority of the conclusions of the *Līlātilaka* is that it deals with the language prior to the beginning of the influence of Sanskrit and English. The author of the *Līlātilaka* wrote at a time when the grammar of the Malayalam language was not influenced by Sanskrit and English Grammars as in later times. The *Līlātilaka* includes the so-called *vibhaktyābhāsas* among *vibhaktis*.[3]

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3. See Silpa II of *Līlātilaka*. Also see *sūtra*: *Saptamaśca* in which he says that the locative suffix also will be elided and gives '*malayiñci*' as example. The elided case-suffix is '*ile*' which is an irregular locative. The author considers this as locative suffix as the *sūtra saptamaśca* the locative also (elides) shows.

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I may also quote the *Līlātilaka* in favour of my general thesis that is, that there is no adjective in Malayalam. The *Līlātilaka* expresses this by omission. In the second chapter the *Līlātilaka* discusses nouns, verbs, pronouns and even conjunctions. But the work is significantly silent on adjectives. I conclude that this silence is affirmative of the non-existence of adjectives in the Malayalam Language, in the view of the author of the *Līlātilaka*.

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NASALS IN TAMIL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DENTAL AND ALVEOLAR

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Modern linguistics has established more than six nasals contained in the speech forms of languages. They are based scientifically on the manner and place of articulation. As such the nasal sounds produced from the velar, palatal, retroflex (or cerebrel), alveolar, dental and labial, are *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n̲*, *n* and *m*.

We know that in English, the available alphabets to denote the above sounds are only two, namely, *n* and *m*. Hence to express the velar nasal, e.g., in king, we use '*ng*'; to denote the palatal nasal e.g. in *bunch*, we use only '*n*' which produces the palatal element due to '*ch*' following '*n*'. In Arabic, Persian and Urdu also we find only two alphabets to symbolise all the nasal elements that are necessary. For these languages, these two alphabets are noon ن and meem م y.

The scripts used for all the Indo-Aryan languages, contain five symbols or syllabaries to denote all the above six nasal elements. Here no alphabet seems to have been evolved for the aleveolar *n*. The case seems to be that in these languages *n* and *n̲* that is the dental and the alveolar nasals are not phonemic and are found to be in complementary distribution. Even in the Dravidian Languages, we find symbols only for the above five represented *excluding Tamil*.

It is only in Tamil that there are six characters with independent script forms to denote the six nasals. These six forms have been in vogue right from the pre-Tolkāppiyar period, that is, prior to the 4th century B. C.

ṅ, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, and *n̲* are called *mellelettu* or nasals.[1] (p. 3, *Tolkāppiyam*, Vol. I. *Eluttatikaram*, by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A , Ph.D. Professor of Oriental Studies, Bishop Heber College, Trichirapalli). Tolkāppiyar says that these six alphabets

1. *Tolkāppiyam, Sūtra* No 20.

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have been in vogue among Tamils earlier than himself. He expresses this sentiment by the words '*enba*[2], '*ennmanar pulavar*' etc. at the end of very many *sūtras* of his work. Instances may be cited by referring to *sūtras* Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 19, 20, 21, and 33, of *Tolkāppiyam* which give a detailed description of places occupied by the nasals. He says that the palatal, dental, and labial nasals appear initially but not the other three, namely, velar, retroflex and the alveolar.[2] It may be noted that in Tamil there are instances where the alveolar and the dental appear in the final position. பையன்; மான்/வெரிந், பொருந்.

However palatal, retroflex and labial do occur finally. E.g. உரிஞ், கண், ஆம்.

Thus we see that it is only the velar nasal which does not appear in the final position. It may be pertinent to mention here that in the modern Tamil speech-forms, the dental nasal does not appear in the final position and hence this usage has become obsolete. The same is the case of the palatal nasal; there is only one instance where the palatal nasal appears in the final position. That solitary example is *URIÑ* (உரிஞ்).

Incidentally it may be mentioned that in Malayalam which has now become a developed language though it branched off from Tamil only a little before the 10th century, there are six distinct phonemes : (See article on Nasal Phonics in Malayalam by Dr. K. K. Raja), including the dental and the alveolar nasals. Even in Malayalam grammar '*Līlātilakam*' (14th century), the dental and the alveolar nasals are taken as two distinct consonants based on the difference in the place of articulation. This is substantiated by the minimal pair */ka:ṇkana:vil/* (=See on the tongue) and */ka:ṇkana:vil/* (=See in the dream).

Thus, we see, that all the six significant nasals which are now established on the basis of modern linguistics have been in practice right from the pre-Tolkāppiyar period in Tamil. This is a significant feature which is found in the history of the writing system of Tamil alone.[3]

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2. *Tolkāppiyam*, *Sūtras* 61 and 64.
   Nannūl, *Sūtra* 102.
3. A paper on '*A comparative study of Tamil and Nāgarī Alphabets*' has already been published in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan. 1961.

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SECTION XII: RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Prsident: Pt. Sukhlalji

1. Distinctive features of *Pratyabhijñā* system
   Dr. R. K. Kaw

2. The concept of *Prapatti* in Rāmānuja's thought
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3. *Alaukika Sannikarṣa* in Nyāya theory of Perception
   Bimal Krishna Motilal

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DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF *PRATYABHIJÑĀ* SYSTEM

Dr. R. K. Kaw, Hoshiarpur

It is sought, in this paper, to clear off certain controversial view-points raised by some of the earlier students, and to trace in brief the specific doctrines of the system in which it differs from the other systems of Vedānta.

Controversial View-points:— The first view-point is regarding the name of the system. Some scholars do not seem to differentiate the *Pratyabhijñā* system of philosophy from the *Trika* and prefer to call the system by the latter name. J. C. Chatterji observes that on the *Trika* there were many treatises each of which was called a *Śāstra*, but these works do not represent so many different systems but only treatises on the various aspects of the same system of thought, namely *Trika*.[1] K. C. Pandey states, 'It is a misnomer to call this system of philosophy "*Pratyabhijñā*" or "*Spanda*" as much as it would be to call India "Calcutta" or "Bombay". These are parts and very important parts (of *Trika*), but severally they do not present the whole....'[2] Kurt F. Leidecker also notes that *Trika*, *Spanda* and *Pratyabhijñā* are the designations of one and the same systems and that distinction made by Dr. Buhler between them is erroneous.[3] These scholars seem not only to have not observed the distinction between *Trika*, *Spanda* and *Pratyabhijñā*, but have also failed to notice that *Pratyabhijñā* is the only 'philosophy proper of the *Trika*' as first pointed out by Pt. Madhusudan Kaul.[4] Metaphysical reasoning is the essence of a philosophical system. It is to this philosophical content of the system that Utpaladeva gives predominance in his

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1. Introduction to Kashmir Śaivism, by J. C. Chatterji, p. 7.
2. Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical Study, by Dr. K. C. Pandey, pp. 166–170.
3. The Secret of Recognition by Kurt F. Leidecker, Notes, p. 101.
4. Preface to IPV, Vol I, p. 1.

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'*Iśvara Pratyabhijñā Kārikās*', relegating to a subordinate position the Āgamic and Tāntric dogmatism, which *Trika*, in the main, presents.[5] This philosophical system is called "*Pratyabhijñā*" by Mādhavācārya in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* on the basis of the title given by Utpaladeva to his *Kārikās*. For this apparent reason, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan also calls the system as "*Pratyabhijñā*" and not *Trika*.[6] The system is also generally known as "Kashmir Śaivism", as this name was first given to it by J. C. Chatterji. Śaivism or Śaiva system is a more comprehensive term representing any system evolved from *Śaivāgamas;* sixty-four systems of the Śaiva cult are mentioned in the scriptures of Kashmir Śaivas, which inculde *Trika* as one of them. But the system, by which we mean the philosophic system, can only be called by the name "*Pratyabhijñā*".

The second view-point is regarding the statement made by Dr. K. C. Pandey that *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy was not indigenous to Kashmir but was introduced and developed by the two ancestral lines which came to Kashmir from outside.[7] Actually we have no trace of the system outside Kashmir before Somānanda's time. As to the statement that the fourth ancestor of Somānanda (Saṁgamāditya) came from Kailasa to spread the Saivāgamas in Kashmir, it may be noted that this is not a historical fact, but is intended to give sanctity to Śaivāgamas. It may also be stated that Abhinavagupta received instruction in the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra* from his teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta who did not belong to his immigrant ancestral line, but was born from some other native family of Kashmir.[8] It is, however, certain that Lakṣmaṇagupta

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5. Āgama Śāstra and Spanda Śāstra lay down the main tenets of the Trika Śāstra (a Yogic and mystic system) without, or hardly, entering into philosophical reasonings in their support. (Intro. to Kashmir Śaivism, by J. C. Chatterji, p. 15)
6. See Indian Philosophy by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vol II, pp. 731–732.
7. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. K. C. Pandey, pp. 83–84.
8. *Ibid.* p. 5. 'Lakṣmaṇagupta, though undoubtedly a teacher of Abhinava in *Pratyabhijñā* was certainly not his father.' (Dr. Pandey)

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himself learnt the *Pratyabhijñā* system in Kashmir and not outside. Jayaratha, the commentator of *Tantrāloka*, clearly states that the *Pratyabhijñā* was cultivated under the fostering care of Somānanda and others who were the natives of Kashmir. It was not to be found elsewhere before it emerged in Kashmir; and it was from this part of the country that it spread in other parts of India where it won praise and admiration as an unique thing like saffron.[9]

The third view-point concerns the time of existence of the system. Dr. K. C. Pandey thinks that the philosophic tradition which Somānanda presents goes back to about the end of the 4th century A. D. He says, Somānanda represents himself to be the nineteenth descendent of Tryambaka; from this it follows that a period of four hundred and fifty years must have intervened between Tryambaka, the propagator of monistic Śaivāgamas, and Somānanda who lived in the ninth century A. D.[10] We admit that the monistic Śaivāgamas, said to have been first propagated by Tryambaka, might have existed long before Somānanda, but, as admitted by Dr. Pandey himself, Somānanda was the first to make a definitely rationalistic approach to the problem of the Ultimate Reality. He refutes the view-points of the various prevailing schools of thought and proves the unsoundness of their theories,[11] and puts in nutshell his own new points of view, on the basis of which his disciple Utpaladeva constructed the edifice of his new philosophical system called *Pratyabhijñā*. It will have to be admitted that Somānanda was indeed the real founder of the system as he taught its rudiments for the first time in his *Śivadṛṣṭi*. This gets support from the statement made by Abhinavagupta that the system set forth by Utpaladeva is the 'reflection of the knowledge of Somānanda'.[12]

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9. Verse (by Jayaratha) quoted on front page 3 of D :—
श्रीसोमानन्दनाथप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
लब्ध्वा यत्रैव सम्यक्पटिमनि घटनामीश्वराद्वैतवादः ।
कश्मीरेभ्यः प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रञ्जयन्सर्वदेश्यान्
देशेऽन्यस्मिन्नदृष्टो घुसृणविसरवत्सर्ववन्द्यत्वमाप ॥
10. Intro. to Bhāskarī II, by Dr. K. C. Pandey, p. iv.
11. Ibid. p. v.
12. .....श्री सोमानन्दनाथस्य विज्ञानप्रतिबिम्बिकम् (IPV, I, p. 2)

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A similar view is expressed by Prof. Lachhmidhar. He attempts to establish that *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy existed in Kālīdāsa's time (in the 5th century A. D.). Firstly, according to him, 'Śaivism followed by Kālīdāsa is a monistic philosophy which is no other than the *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy', and secondly, as he says, 'Kālidāsa propounded the philosophy of *Pratyabhijñā* in his works, particularly *Śākuntala*...which is the allegorical representation of this philosophy'.[13] It may be stated that there is no evidence in *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* or any other work of Kālidāsa to show that the *Pratyabhijñā* system existed in his time. As observed by Prof. Hillebrandt, Kālidāsa was an Advaita-vādi Vedāntin who was influenced by the philosophy of *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagvadgītā*.[14] In view of this, it is not correct to say that Kālīdāsa was influenced by *Pratyabhijñā* system. Prof. Lachhmidhar says, 'in order to popularise this *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy in its early days of promulgation, Kālīdāsa hits at the happy device of writing an allegory on the basis of the love story of *Śākuntala* in the *Mahābhārata*'.[15] In support of this statement he has given no positive evidence. The views of the learned professor towards attaching philosophical significance to some common words and ideas occurring in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and twisting the tenets of the system in the various love-incidents of the drama are rather far-fetched. It is questionable why Kālīdāsa does not indicate anywhere in *Śākuntala* or any other work the motive of his inventing the allegory in this drama on the basis of the *Pratyabhijñā* system which he intended to popularise. As to Prof. Lachhmidhar's remark 'that in the very early centuries monistic Śaivism...representing the *Pratyabhijñā* doctrine is already existent in the *Nīlamata* (*Purāṇa*)' (the work assigned the date 6th or 7th centuries A. D.), which he has supported by citing

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13. The Birth-place of Kālidāsa, by Prof. Lachhmidhar, pp. 27-30.

14. Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaivism, by Prof. Hillebrandt, Vol. I. p. 169.

15. The Birth-place of Kālidāsa, by Prof. Lachhmidhar, pp. 27-30.

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certain verses from it,[16] it may be noted that these verses represent the common ideas which occur in both the *Pratyabhijñā* system and the Vedānta as are incorporated in them as well as in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, from the *Upaniṣads*, the fountain-head of such philosophical ideas.

The next view-point is regarding the connection between the *Pratyabhijñā* system and Śaṅkarācārya's school of Vedānta. The resemblance between the two systems has been first noticed by Dr. Buhler who thinks that there was definitely an influence of Śaṅkarācārya's school of *Vedānta* upon the *Pratyabhijñā*.[17] On the other hand, Dr. K. C. Pandey says there was a great influence of Śaṅkara's Tāntric philosophy on *Trika*.[18] He remarks, 'this visit of such a great person (Śaṅkarācārya to Kashmir)...purged the local faith of its Buddhistic element and strengthened the position of the new Tāntric creed'.[19] It is not possible to agree with the learned scholar in holding that the great Śaṅkarācārya, the expounder of the Vedānta system, had any share in the preaching or practice of Tāntric philosophy, not to speak of its having an influence on the *Pratyabhijñā* system. The internal evidence from his works, the *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*, *Gītā Bhāṣya* and the *Upaniṣad Bhāṣya*, shows that neither the *Tantra* technique nor any Tāntric doctrine was known to Śaṅkarācārya, the great Vedānta philosopher. The occurrence of some philosophical ideas and technical terms as common in Śaṅkarārcāya's *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* (DMS) and *Īśvara*

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16. Nīlamata Purāṇa, verses 1270-1274, 1283-1286 and 1294-1295 :—
.....देवमभिज्ञातोऽसि पुत्रक ।
एष सर्वेश्वरः शक्र एष कारणकारणम् ॥ (1270) ; .....
स एष सर्वकर्ता च सर्वज्ञश्च महेश्वरः ॥ (1271) ;
यदिच्छया जगदिदं वर्वर्ति सचराचरम् ।
यस्य शक्तिलता सेयं सूर्यचन्द्रात्मनः प्रभोः । (1272) ;
पुष्पिताऽखिलमेवेदं जगद्भासयते भवात्।..... (1273) ;
तवैव मायया पूर्वं मोहितेन जगत् प्रभो ।..... (1274) ;
17. Buhler 'Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts' (1877).
18. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. K. C. Pandey, p. 88.
19. Ibid. p. 90.

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Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī (ĪPV), pointed out by Dr. Pandey in certain quotations from both these works in his thesis (Abhinavagupta),[20] does not show any Tāntric influence of Śaṅkara's school on the *Pratyabhijñā*, as we are familiar with these Vedāntic ideas and terms in the early Upaniṣads and also in Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma Sūtras*. It is not understood what specifically Tāntric is noticed in these ideas which represent more or less the Vedāntic thought.

Specific doctrines of Pratyabhijñā :—The term *Pratyabhijñā* is used, for the first time, in the special philosophic sense by Buddhists. According to them the special feature of knowledge (*saññā*) is recognising (*Paccabhiññā*) by means of a sign (*abhiññānena*).[21] According to another explanation, a recognition takes place by the inclusion of the totality of aspects of a thing.[22] The term *Pratyabhijñā* represents the experience in which direct perception (*dṛṣṭa*) is associated with memory (*smaraṇa*). The idea of 'recognition' (*Pratyabhijñā*) involving the two-fold process of simultaneously perceiving (*dṛṣṭa*) some of the aspects of a thing and remembering (*smaraṇa*) all of its previously cognised aspects in their totality, is conceived by Somānanda in his *Śivadṛṣṭi*, for the first time, in reference to the realization of the Ultimate Reality or Divine Śakti.[23] The *Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī* also gives

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20. Ibid. p. 89; see DMS 2 and ĪPV, Ī-182; DMS commentary (2), Ś 13 and IPV, Ī-39; DMS Commentary (2) Ś 13 and IPV, I-207; DMS Commentary (2) Ś 50 and ĪPV, Ī-29.

21 Saññā is the Pāli form of Saṁjñā, meaning the conceptual knowledge; Paccabhiññā is the Pāli form of Pratyabhijñā (recognising), and abhiññānena is the Pāli form of abhijñānena, meaning 'by means of a sign'. A History of Indian Philosophy by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta (1912) p. 98.

22. Ibid.

23. तस्माज्ज्ञेयं समग्रैक्यवस्तु शैवं व्यवस्थितम् ।
तथा स्मरणयोगाच्च स्मर्यते किं तथाविधम् ।
यादृग्दृष्टं दृष्टता स्यादथवा ज्ञानमेव तत् ।
दृष्टस्मरणयोरैक्ये स्थिते तदुपपद्यते ।
तथा सा प्रत्यभिज्ञानात्स एवायमिति स्थितिः ॥ (ŚD, IV, 118-120)

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the same idea of *Pratyabhijñā*.[24] It means cognition (*Jñā-Jñāna*) as facing oneself (*abhi - ābhimukhyena*) of what was forgotten; "*Prati*" (*Pratīpam*) implies that it is not that the consciousness of the Self has never before been a fact of experience,[25] viz. the Self has never before been unrealized (*nānanubhūta-pūrvaḥ*)[26]. On the other hand, '*Jñāna*' implies that 'the knowledge of the Self' is lacking before its attainment. The system considers 'Self-recognition' (*Pratyabhijñā*) as the end and object of a philosophical quest, not 'knowledge' (*Jñāna*) of the Self, as it is according to the Vedānta system. This is one striking point of difference between the *Pratyabhijñā* and the Vedānta system.

The doctrines of *Pratyabhijñā* are systematically enunciated by Utpaladeva in his *Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Kārikās* (*Sūtras*). It is divided into four books - *Adhikāras*, viz. *Jñānādhikāra* (book dealing with Knowledge), *Kriyādhikāra* (book dealing with Action), *Āgamādhikāra* (book dealing with Āgamic tenets) and *Tattvārtha-saṁgrahādhikāra* (book recapitulating the doctrines expounded in the foregoing *Adhikāras*). At the outset of the first Book, the teacher says, '...wishing to render service to humanity, I am setting forth *Pratyabhijñā* (Self-recognition) which is a means of attaining all that is of highest value'.[27] Then he tells us that the Self (*Ātman*) who is the Supreme Lord (*Maheśvara*), is endowed with the powers of Action and Cognition,[28] as His two primary powers, which impliedly include the Sovereignty of will (*Māheśvarya*) as His another power. Somānanda, the teacher of

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24. 'तस्य' महेश्वरस्य 'प्रत्यभिज्ञा'—प्रतीपमात्माभिमुख्येन ज्ञानं प्रकाशः प्रत्यभिज्ञा ।
(ĪPV, I, pp. 19-20)

स्मरणानुभवारूढा सामानाधिकरण्यधीः ।
संस्कारेन्द्रियजन्या च प्रत्यभिज्ञा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (ĪPV, I, p. 20, Foot-note)

25. Bhāskarī, III, P. 12.

26. प्रतीपम् इति-स्वात्मावभासो हि न अननुभूतपूर्वोऽवच्छिन्नप्रकाशत्वात्तस्य ।....
(ĪPV, I, p. 20)

27. .....जनस्याप्युपकारमिच्छन् ।
समस्तसंपत्समवाप्तिहेतुं
तत्प्रत्यभिज्ञामुपपादयामि ॥ (ĪPV, I, i-1)

28. कर्तरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धे महेश्वरे । (ĪPV, I, i-2)

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Utpaladeva, also states in his *Śivadṛṣṭi* that Śiva Who is 'essence and identity' (Self) of every being is an unrestrained stream of 'Will' (free will) and a spontaneous flow of 'Cognition' and 'Activity'[29]. The question arises, as Ātman (the Self) is the self-luminous Maheśvara, the Supreme Lord, Actor and Knower, the eternal Being, all talk of proving or disproving His existence is in vain. On this point the teacher says, although *Ātman* is self-luminous, yet his real nature is not manifest due to his own deluding power (*Māyā - vimohinī-śakti*). The same becomes manifest by his own perceiving power (*dṛkkriyātmikā śakti*).[30] It is the 'recognitive insight' (*Pratyabhijñā*) which revives the perceiving power. The teacher next establishes that Maheśvara is not only the Self of sentient beings, but is also of insentient objects. He tells the existence of the insentient objects depends upon the sentient beings, for the powers of Knowledge and Action are the very life of the living beings.[31] Thus in their very manifestation the insentient objects are also endowed with these two powers. Out of these two, the power of knowledge is self-established (*svataḥ siddham*); so also is the power of action. The latter, when associated with a particular body, is perceptible to other limited perceivers. It is from action that the presence of the power of knowledge in others is inferred.[32] Thus knowledge and action are inter-dependent in relation to sentient and insentient beings.

A discussion is introduced to refute the theory of the Buddhist Saugatas, according to which the perceiving self is not a permanent being. The theory of the Saugatas is based on their doctrine of general momentariness. Utpaladeva rejects the theory mainly on the ground of the phenomena of rememberance.

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29. आत्मैव....., अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः। (ŚD, I, 2)

30. किंतु मोहवशादस्मिन्दृष्टेऽप्यनुपलक्षिते।
शक्त्याविष्करणेनेयं प्रत्यभिज्ञोपदर्श्यते॥ (ĪPV, I, i-3)

31. तथा हि जडभूतानां प्रतिष्ठा जीवदाश्रया।
ज्ञानं क्रिया च भूतानां जीवतां जीवनं मतम्॥ (ĪPV, I, i-4)

32. तत्र ज्ञानं स्वतःसिद्धं क्रिया कायाश्रितासती।
परैरप्युपलक्ष्येत तयान्यज्ञानमूह्यते॥ (ĪPV, I, 5)

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It is upheld 'If the experiencing self were not permânent, how can there be the rise of memory'.[33] The teacher finally declares, if there be not one permanent Self, who is essentially self-luminous and possesses the powers of cognition, remembrance and differentiation, the settled order of the world will come to an end.[34] The nature and function of these three powers, *Smṛti Śakti*, *Jñāna Śakti* and *Apohana Śakti* is comprehensively treated of in *IPK*, I-iv, v and vi respectively. In the next section (*Āhnika* vii), it is established that these three powers rest in one substratum, permanent Self (*Ātman*). In Section viii, the last *Āhnika* of Book I, the teacher explains the nature and function of the Sovereignty of the Lord's Will (Māheśvarya). Here a new theory is laid down, *Svātantrya-vāda*, the Universal Voluntarism.

Svātantryavāda is the chief doctrine of the *Pratyabhijñā* system. It explains the Lord's self-dependent power which evolves this world of diverse nature, and the 'Sovereignty of the Lord's Will' which imparts the impetus to the process of creation. In the earlier systems three main theories are propounded to account for the process of the creation, viz. (1) the Realistic or Creationist view (*Ārambhavāda*) (2) the theory of Transformation (*Pariṇāmavāda*) and (3) the theory of Manifestation (*Vivartavāda*). The *Pratyabhijñā* system considers these three theories unsound and postulates the theory of *Svātantrya-vāda* which seems to be a sound explanation to the wonderous creative power in nature. According to *Svātantrya-vāda*, the Lord is *sarva-kriyā-svatantra*, i.e. is free (*svatantra*) in all his actions from internal stir (*Āntarīya spandana*) to external stir or manifestation (*Bahis spandana* or *unmeṣa*). It is the self-dependent power (*Svātantrya śakti*) of the Lord which causes the multiplicity and diversity of effects from the One Supreme Cause. (*Tat sāmarthyam*

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33. अथानुभवविध्वंसे स्मृतिस्तदनुरोधिनी ।
कथं भवेन्न नित्यः स्यादात्मा यद्यनुभावकः । (IPV, I, ii-3)
See Bhāskarī, III, p. 22.

34. एवमन्योन्यभिन्नानामपरस्परवेदिनाम् ।
ज्ञानानामनुसंधानजन्मा नश्येज्जनस्थितिः ॥
न चेदन्तःकृतानन्तविश्वरूपो महेश्वरः ।
स्यादेकश्चिद्वपुर्ज्ञानस्मृत्यपोहनशक्तिमान् ॥ (IPV, I, iii-6 & 7)

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svātantryam).[35] Schopenhauer (in Western Philosophy) also hits upon the same idea in his doctrine of 'Will as the cause of everything'—will as a force of spontaneity and sense of effort, an impulse, instinct and spring of life, which is supernatural power.[36]

In the Second Book, *Kriyādhikāra,* which treats of the power of Action or physical activity, we are told that the whole creation is the result of the *Kriyā Śakti.* It functions under the operation of three laws, viz. the law of Divison (*bhedābheda*), the law of Perception (*māna-tat-phala-meya*) and the law of Causation (*Kāraṇa-kārya*), and thus turns into the constituent power (*nirmāṇa - śakti*) which brings into existence (or manifests) the whole cosmos comprising the variety of subjects and objects.[37] The Bauddha views the action purely objectively and holds it a series being characterised by succession (*Krama*) and therefore multiple which is contrary to the nature of Self who is, in essence, devoid of plurality. The *Pratyabhijñā* asserts the multiple nature of action as observed externally, but this action, taking it in its subjective or internal aspect, is only an expression of the will of the individual and the will is one because of the oneness of the purpose that it aims at. Thus action, taken in both of its aspects, is unity in multiplicity: the unity is internal and subjective and multiplicity is external and objective[39]. *Kāla*

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35. चितिः प्रत्यवमर्शात्मा परावाक्स्वरसोदिता ।
स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन्मुख्यं तदैश्वर्यं परमात्मनः । (ĪPV, I, v. 13)
'It means that the universe is the concretisation or manifestation (externalization) of the free Universal mind or will'. (Bhāskarī III, Intro. p. ccv)
See Abhinavagupta, by Dr. K. C. Pandey, pp. 203-204.

36. *cf.* Bhāskarī, Vol. II, Intro. pp. xvii - xix.

37 ĪPV, II, Āhnikas ii, iii & iv; also
किं तु निर्माणशक्तिः साप्येवंविदुष ईशितुः ।
तथा विज्ञातृविज्ञेय-भेदो यदवभास्यते । (ĪPV, II, i-8)

38. Ibid. II, i.

39. Bhāskarī, III, Intro. pp. cciii - cciv.

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Śakti (the time factor) is responsible for the plurality of *Kriyā* (action)[40], viz. plurality is the result of perception of an object at different moments of time. The time is in reality the succession observable in the movement of the sun and other planets, in the production of different flowers (in different seasons) and in the alternation of summer and winter.[41] Self-possessing *Kriyā-śakti* as one of His powers is uneffected by *Kāla-śakti* and is thus free from the nature of plurality. *Kriyā-śakti* is responsible for the manifestation of temporal and spatial orders, but it is free from the temporal and spatial limitations. This is explained by the theory of Manifestation, *Ābhāsavāda*, which is also a newly-coined theory in the *Pratyabhijñā* system.

According to the *Ābhāsavāda*, *Ātman*, the Supreme Lord (Maheśvara) is the manifester of diverse manifestations (*Citrābhā-sa-kṛtaḥ-prabhoḥ*)[42] in the form of the various objects of the universe. The *Kāla-śakti* of this Lord (*Ātman*) differentiates various manifestations at different moments of time as distinct entities. 'The Lord makes the spatial succession manifest by means of manifestations of bodies (*Mūrti-vaicitrya*) and the temporal succession by means of manifestation of the variety (of forms) in action (*Kriyā-vaicitrya*).[43] Almost similar to *Vivarta-vāda* of Vedānta, *Ābhāsavāda* also holds the world objects as manifestations or *Ābhāsas*. Whereas in Śaṅkara's system of Vedānta, the *ābhāsas* are fictitious and hence unreal, in the *Pratyabhijnā* system the manifested objects are real as they exist in the Supreme Reality, viz. appear on the background of Self (*Svātmabhitti*). Thus we have two aspects of Self, *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*; the one stands as the substratum of manifestations and the other is the process of manifestations going upon this substratum.

Ābhāsavada explains the relation of plurality and unity (*Bhedābheda*), the relation of 'Subject', 'awareness' and 'Object'

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40. सक्रमत्वं च लौकिक्या: क्रियाया: कालशक्तित: । (IPV, II, i-2)

41. काल: सूर्यादिसंचारस्तत्तत्पुष्पादिजन्म वा ।
शीतोष्णे वाथ तल्लक्ष्य: क्रम एव स तत्त्वत: ॥ (IPV, II, i-3)

42. Ibid. II, i, 4.

43. Ibid, II, i, 5.

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(*Pramātā*, *Pramāṇa* and *Prameya*) and the relation of Cause and Effect (*Kāraṇa-kārya*), in conformity with the doctrine of Monism (*Advaita*). Ultimately there exists unity in plurality. This is the first or the fundamental law of *Kriyā-śakti* of which the other two laws, the law of perception and the law of causation, are derivatives or corollaries. These three laws are comprehensively discussed in three separate sections in the *Kriyādhikāra*.[44] In spite of the multiplicity of the universe, the school rejects dualism, and accepts concrete monism as opposed to abstract Monism (to put it in Hegelian term). The universe is the concretisation or manifestation (or externalization) of the free Universal Mind or Will.[45] Unity of the Universal Mind or the Lord remains unaffected in spite of the multiplicity of the universe manifested in it. Ultimately one Lord is both the manifester Subject (*Aham*) and the manifested object (*Idam*).

In the third Book, *Āgamādhikāra*, the manifested world is analysed into thirty-six Tattvas, the essential principles of creation, from *Śiva*, the highest principle, to the earth, the principle of solidity. This is indeed an elaborate analysis of the Universal Energy (*Śakti*), 'primordial natural force-principle' or the *Prima Materia* of all things, to put it in terms of the Western philosophy. The doctrine of Tattvas is also found in other systems of Śaivism with slight variations in its interpretation. The Sāṅkhya system enumerates 25 Tattvas. These are originally mentioned in scattered forms in the various Upaniṣads and are picked out and incorporated by the Sāṅkhya school in a connected system. The Kashmir Śaivas have added up eleven more *Tattvas* to 25 *Tattvas* of the Sāṅkhya school, thus bringing the total number of *Tattvas* to 36.[46]

Besides describing 36 *Tattvas* the section gives other matters derived from *Āgamas*, such as the pure and impure creation of perceivers (*Pramātṛs*), the bondage (*Saṁsāra*) and freedom (*Svātantrya*), the impurities (*Malas*), the different states of perceivers and four methods of realization for liberation (freedom).

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44. ĪPV, II, ii, iii & iv.
45. Bhāskarī III, Intro. p. ccv.
46. See chart at the end of the paper for the easy grasp of the whole doctrine; also see ĪPV, III, i.

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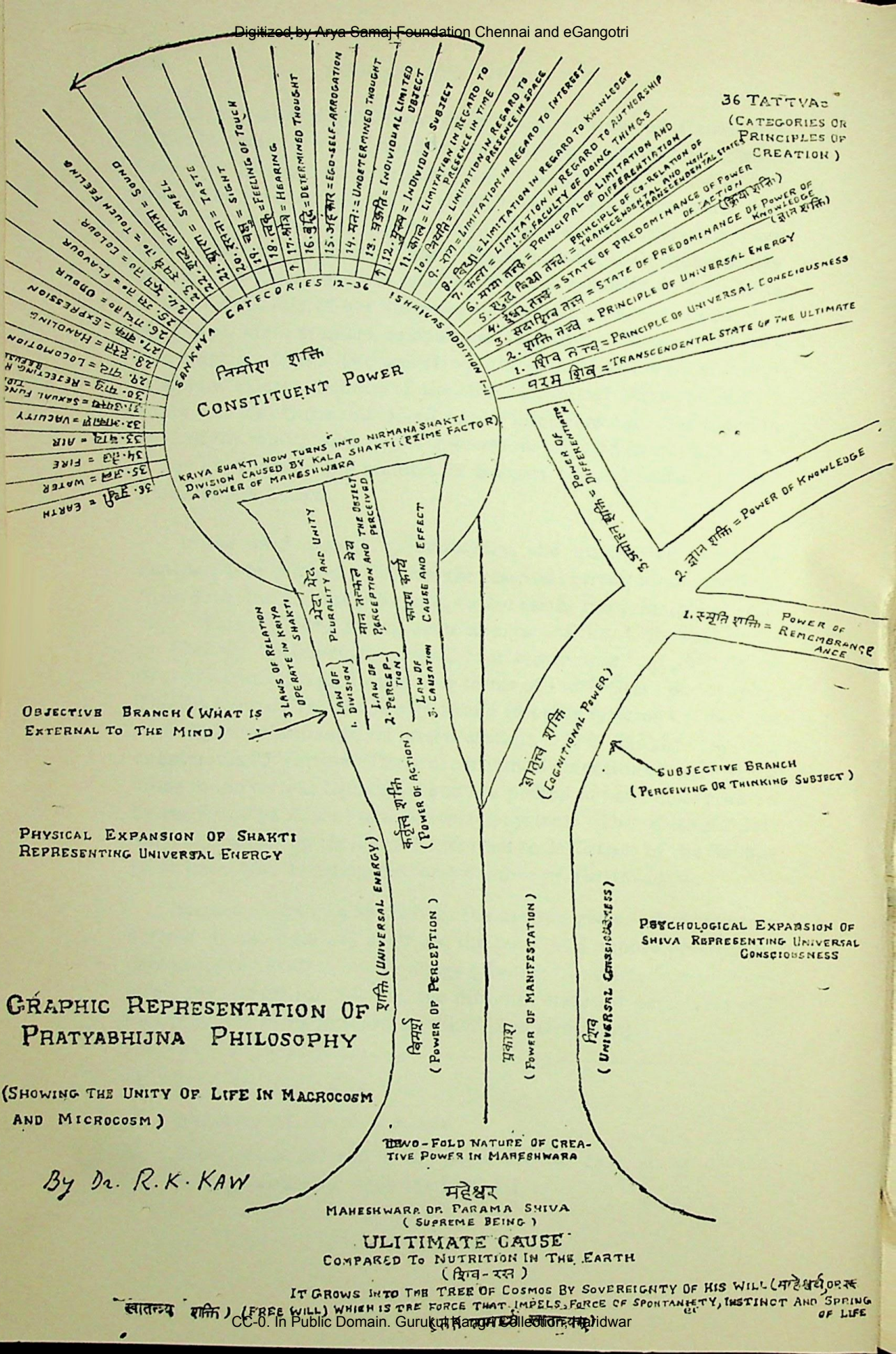

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF PRATYABHIJNA PHILOSOPHY

(SHOWING THE UNITY OF LIFE IN MACROCOSM AND MICROCOSM)

By Dr. R. K. KAW

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The fourth Book explains the essential nature of the Highest Being which is the Self of all living beings.[47] The *summum bonum* of the system is to 'recognise' the Supreme inheritence and free nature of Self realizing that all this world is one's own creation.[48] Thus fully knowing the Self and its highest potential powers of Cognition and Action, a common man thinks and acts aright to accomplish all his desired objects.[49] When one recognises one's profounder Self, he attains all that is of highest value and may have the transcendental power (*siddhi*) without much effort.[50] Somānanda also says, if the nature of fire is known that it gives light and heat, we can make proper use of it for lighting our houses and other purposes. Similarly by knowing the value and the qualities of gold we can make proper use of it. Thus if the nature of *Śiva-Ātman* (Self) is known, proper use of His powers-*Icchā*, *Jñāna* and *Kriyā*-will enable us to accomplish our desired objects of highest value.[51]

The above gives the bird's eye-view of the doctrines as enunciated in the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra*. It will be observed that there are so many points common to *Pratyabhijñā* system and the Vedānta, yet these two schools are different from each other in many

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47. स्वात्मैव सर्वजन्तूनामेक एव महेश्वरः। (ĪPV, IV, i, 1)

48. सर्वो ममायं विभव इत्येवं परिजानतः। (ĪPV, IV, i, 12)

49. एवमात्मानमेतस्य सम्यग्ज्ञानक्रिये तथा।
ज्ञानन्यथेप्सितान्पश्यज्जानाति च करोति च। (ĪPV, IV, i)
It is impossible for a man who truely sees God in all things to err.

50. जनस्यायत्नसिद्ध्यर्थम्.....
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञेयमुत्पलेनोपपादिता। (ĪPV, IV, ii.3)

51. वह्निर्यद्यपि विज्ञातः प्रकाशादि करोत्यसौ।
तथापि योजितो युक्त्या प्रकाशमधिकं गृहे।
सत्यमेवं तथापीह सुवर्णं ज्ञातमात्रकम्।
मूल्यादिनोपभोगाय दानार्थमुपयुज्यते।
ज्ञाते शिवत्वे सर्वस्थे प्रतिपत्त्या दृढात्मना, ...
भासतेऽवस्थिता शक्तिः शैवी शैवार्थदायिका।
निजशक्तिसमाविष्टेरायान्ति शिवसम्पदः। (ŚD, VII, 3, 10, 6, 23, 29)

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respects. In this school the conception of the Ultimate Reality (*Maheśvara*) has changed from that of the Vedāntin's Brahman symbolising only pure universal consciouness. The Ultimate Reality in the *Pratyabhijñā* system includes *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* as its two aspects, which symbolise respectively Universal Consciousness and physical activity. It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The Psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jñātṛtva Śakti* (Omniscience) of Maheśvara, and the physical phenomena to His *Kartṛtva Śakti* (Omnipotence). Ātman is *Prakāśa-Vimarśa-maya*. *Prakāśa* makes *Ātman* conscious of itself and *Vimarśa* makes him conscious of the external object world. *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* of *Pratyabhijñā* system are symbolised in Spinoza's system (in the Western Philosophy) by 'thought' and 'extension'. 'Extension' is visible thought and 'thought' is invisible extension. They are the objective and the subjective phases of which God is the identity. Everything is a mode of God's attribute of extension; every thought, wish, or feeling, a mode of His attribute of thought.

As regards the fundamental differences between the two schools, *Pratyabhijñā* and the Vedānta, the Śaivas argue as follows:—According to the Vedānta, the nature of Brahman (the Ultimate Reality) is *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*, i.e. existence, consciousness and bliss. It is of the nature of changeless or inactive consciousness (*Śānta-cit*), but lacks in *Vimarśa* which implies changing nature (*kṣobhatvam*)[52] and activity (*Kriyā*), viz. the innate power of expansion into cosmos. *Vimarśa* is contrary to tranquil (*śānta*) or inactive nature of Brahman. *Vimarśa* of Śaivas is, according to the Vedāntins, a form of *Vikalpa*, i. e. superimposition or illusion. On this point the Śaivas say, it is illogical to hold *Vimarśa* as *Vikalpa* and thus to attribute an unlike characteristic (*Vijātīya dharma*) to Brahman.[53] Hence, the Vedāntins will have to

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52. तदेव च शान्तचिद्रूपत्वम्। शान्तत्वं हि विमर्शाख्यक्षोभ-रहितत्वमेव तेषामिष्टम्। (Bhāskarī, I, p. 10)

53. विमर्शस्य हि ते विकल्पत्वाशंकया क्षोभत्वमेव शंकते। न च तद्युक्तम्, विजातीयस्यागन्तुकस्य धर्मस्यैव तत्त्वात्। (Ibid.)

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accept *Vimarśa* not as *Vikalpa*, but as a real characteristic of Brahman which gives Him the changing nature (*Kṣobhatvam*). According to Śaivas, Śiva is all-powerful and is endowed with both *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*. *Prakāśa* is the pure consciousness unaffected by material change, which is almost equivalent to the Vedāntins' *Sat-cid-ānanda Brahman*, and *Vimarśa* is the activity, the changing nature (*kṣobhatvam*). Both *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* are innate in Śiva. It cannot be supposed that something extraneous causes in Śiva the nature of changing into the form of the universe, as Vedāntins do in attributing Nescience (*Māyā*) to Brahman for causing the superimposition of the world in itself. Nothing extraneous causes the power of burning in fire, but it is innate in it. The nature of *Vimarśa* is thus innate in Śiva. Śaivas further question, how can Brahman be of the nature of *Vikalpa*, as the Vedāntins themselves cite so often the *Śruti* '*Yathā visphuliṅgāḥ* ...' i. e. Jīvas evolve from Brahman as sparks from fire (*Agni-kaṇa-nyāyena*). From this it is clear that Jīva is of the nature of Brahman. As, according to the Vedāntins, Brahman lacks the *Parāmarśa śakti*, viz. the power of differentiating subjects and objects, *Jīva* should also lack it.[54] Thus its very existence as *Jīva* becomes null and void. But as spark has by nature the power of burning which is orignally in fire from which it evolves, so we must admit *Parāmarśa śakti* to be innate in Brahman, as it is in *Jīva*. The Vedāntin objects to this point and says that *Vimarśa* comes to *Jīva* by adopting *upādhi* (body).[55] The Śaiva questions 'Can smoke be produced from water in an *upādhi* (pitcher) of wood?' *Upādhi* means that which conditions limitation to holding capacity.[56] Thus *Upādhi* renders *Jīva* limited in powers, but *Vimarśa* cannot be the result of adopting an *upādhi*. The Vedāntin accepts *Māyā śakti* as the principle that divides Brahman into

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54. तत्र च यदि ब्रह्मणः सा परामर्शशक्तिर्नास्ति जीवस्य कुत आगच्छेत्, अग्निचयदाहकशक्तिपूर्वकं तत्कणदाहशक्ति-दर्शनात्। (Ibid. p. 12)

55. ननु देहाद्युपाधिना सात्र स्फुरिता ?

(Ibid.)

56. नं, इन्धनोपाधिना जलादपि धूमम् उत्तिष्ठेत्।
परिमितभावस्तु यद्युपाधिकृत उच्यते, उच्यताम्॥

(Ibid.)

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limited forms. The Śaiva questions: is *Māyā śakti* innate in *Jīva* or *Brahman*? It cannot be supposed to be innate in *Jīva*, as in that case the division into *Jīva* and *Brahman* will be impossible. If *Māyā śakti* is supposed to be innate in the latter (*Brahman*), then its purity will be impaired by limitation which is contrary to the nature of *Brahman*.[57] On this inconsistency the Vedāntin says that in essense *Māyā* is not a real thing.[58] What is it then, the Śaiva asks? The Vedāntin says, it is of the nature of illusion by which one appears in many forms. What is the characteristic (*rūpa*) of this *Māyā*, the Śaiva asks? The Vedāntin says, it is of the nature of ignorance. The Śaiva questions, is it of positive character (*bhāvarūpam*) or of negative character (*abhāva-rūpam*)? In case of the latter alternative, there will not be the manifestation of diverse objects. It will be impossible for the pure *Brahman* to become illusive (impure) world,[59] for then it will be reduced to nothingness (*abhāva-rūpam*). As to the other alternative, the Śaiva questions, what is the nature of this positive entity, i. e. the ignorance of positive characteristic (*Bhāvarūpa*)? The Vedāntin replies, it is inexplicable (*Anirvācya*). The Śaiva says, if so, how do you call it *Māyā*? The Vedāntin replies, inexplicably (*anirvācyatayā iti*). Then the Śaiva arrives at the point that Māyā is the same as Brahman, as the *Śruti* says, '*Yato vāco nivartante...*', which refers to Brahman. Thus Vedāntin will have to accept *Māyā* and Brahman as identical, having the power (*śakti*) to assume the form of the world. The Śaiva holds that *Māyā śakti* is innate in Śiva (*Svasvarūpabhūtā*).[6]

The general view of the Vedāntins is that the universe is false, having a visionary existence, the cause of which is beginningless

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57. यदि जीवनिष्ठा तदा तत्पूर्वसिद्धस्य जीवब्रह्मविभागस्य तत्कृतत्वकथनमयुक्तम्—अथ ब्रह्मनिष्ठा तदस्य शुद्धत्वमसंभवोपहतमेव ।
(Ibid.)

58. ननु माया परमार्थतः किमपि वस्तु न विद्यते एव
(Ibid.)

59. न च शुद्धस्य ब्रह्मणो मलिनजगदधिष्ठानत्वं युक्तम् ।
(Ibid. p. 13)

60. See (i) Bhāskarī, Vol. I, pp. 10-14 and
(ii) 'The Doctrine of Recognition' in Sharada Peetha Research Series, Part II, pp. 66-72.

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Avidyā (a sort of ignorance). The Śaivas say, if *Avidyā* is false, it cannot be the cause of this universe which has been existing from time immemorial. How can a thing, which is false and unsubstantial, bring into existence anything substantial ? It is not clear as to whom this *Avidyā* involves. It cannot involve Brahman which is ever pure, all-knowledge and all-bliss. Now it could involve a limited soul, but no limited soul, according to Vedānta, does really ever exist. It is only the Brahman that exists. So Vedānta leaves this problem unsolved. In view of the Śaivas, the universe is not false. It is real ; the universe exists. It always existed in the all-pervading Śiva. He has both the transcendental aspect (*Parā* or *Anuttaradaśā*) and the universal aspect (*aparā daśā*) as his nature is both *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* ; *Prakāśa* is pure luminosity and pure consciousness, and *Vimarśa* which is given another name *Spanda*, implies vibration-like activity. Both aspects of Śiva are true in reality. How can, therefore, a person dispense with the universe as something visionary and absolutely false? Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Śiva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realizing his real nature.[61] Thus man has to act his part in a right manner, think and do all that is of highest value, as he desires. This is the view of *Pratyabhijñā* philosophers of Kashmir.[62] This shows that *Pratyabhijñā* system is almost in full accord with the philosophy of *Upaniṣads*, but differs fundamentally from Śaṅkarācārya's school of Vedānta. The view-points of Śaṅkara's School of thought in the Vedānta as discussed above are responsible for all the criticism made on the school not only by the *Pratyabhijñā* system, but also by the schools of Rāmānujācārya and Vallabhācārya. *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy is indeed the re-orientation of the Vedānta philosophy.

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61. See article on Kashmir Śaivism, by Prof. B. N. Pandit, in J. & K. University Review, Vol. II, No. I, May 1959.

62. In the abstract Monism of Śaṅkarācārya's system of Vedānta, there is no place for practical life and ethical values, nor does it fulfil the epistemic necessity.

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NOTES

Abbreviations :—

ĪPK	—	Iśvara Pratybhijñā Kārikās (Sūtras) by Utpaladeva
ĪPV	—	Iśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī, a short commentary on ĪPK, by Abhinavagupta
ŚD	—	Śivadṛṣṭi by Somānanda
DMS	—	Dakṣiṇā-mūrti-stotra by Śaṅkarācārya
Bhāskarī I & II	—	A Commentary (by Bhāskarācārya) on ĪPV, Volumes I & II
Bhāskarī III	—	An English Translation of ĪPV in the light of the Bhāskarī, by Dr. K.C. Pandey
Intro.	—	Introduction

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THE CONCEPT OF *PRAPATTI* IN THE THOUGHT OF RĀMĀNUJA

Robert C. Lester, Washington

Prapatti, deriving from the root '*pad*' plus the prefix '*pra*', simply means, 'the act of falling down, throwing one's self down, or resorting to'. Very early Hindu literature, the best examples being found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, gives expression to the act of throwing one's self down or surrendering before a person, thereby binding that person to protect you. The key term here is '*śaraṇāgati*'—'*śaraṇaṁ*' plus the root '*āgam*'—'to go toward for refuge', or 'to come to for refuge'. Some time later '*prapatti*' came to be employed with this meaning as the equivalent of '*śaraṇāgati*'. In the Bhāgavata tradition, as is evident from the *Pañcarātra Saṁhitās*, *prapatti* in this special sense was applied specifically to the relationship of *jīvātman* and Nārāyaṇa, and postulated as a means (*upāya*) for *mokṣa*. This concept of *Prapatti* received its fullest development at the hands of the ācāryas of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya, primarily Pillai Lokācārya and Manavālamuni for the Tengalai school and Vedānta Deśika for the Vaḍagalai school. Through the writings of these men, *Prapatti* has superceded all other means to the supreme goal.

The primary authority in this movement was taken not only from the *Pañcarātra*, but also from the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Bhāṣyakāra, Rāmānuja (11th century). Reading Rāmānuja's major works, one cannot help but be struck by the prominence of the *Bhakti* in his thought. In fact, he states over and over again that *Bhakti* is the only *upāya* for *mokṣa* and *bhagavadanubhava* (*bhaktyekalabhyaḥ*). This *bhakti* is of the nature of *upāsana* or *dhyāna* following the *brahmavidyās* of the *Upaniṣads*, and is to be preceded by and accompanied by *karmayoga* and *jñānayoga*. Rāmānuja does, however, use derivatives, of '*prapad*' and '*śaraṇam-gam*', and attributed to his authorship are three minor devotional pieces entitled *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, *Śrīraṅgagadya* and *Śrīvaikuṇṭhagadya*, the purpose of which, according to the above mentioned ācāryas, is to set forth clearly the *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* as a direct, independent means to *mokṣa* and *bhagavadanubhava*.

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The task of this paper is to examine all references to *prapatti* and *śāraṇāgati* in Rāmānuja's writings, in order to determine to what extent the later ācāryas are justified in citing him as an authority in this matter. I shall throughout be referring to the Sanskrit texts of Rāmānuja's works edited by Śri Kanchi P. B. Annangarācharya Swami, and published as the *Śri Bhagavad Rāmānuja Granthamālā.*

Since the *Vedārtha Saṁgraha* is thought to be Rāmānuja's earliest work, we may conveniently begin our consideration with it. On page 18, Rāmānuja states—*atredam sarvaśāstrahṛdayam*—"Now this is the heart (central meaning) of all the *śāstras*". Then, after stating the essential nature *(svarūpa)* of the *jīvātman* and its bondage due to *karma*, he says—*eteṣām saṁsāramocanam bhagavad-prapattim antareṇa na upapadyate*—"and the release of these (*jīvātmas*) from *saṁsāra* is not accomplished by other than *prapatti* to Bhagavān". He continues—*tadartham... pratipādayanti śāstrāṇi*—"For this purpose the *śāstras* establish...the sameness of all *ātmans* ..... the essential nature of the *ātman* as *śeṣa* to Bhagavān.....etc.", and he concludes *tadupāsanam sāṅgam tatprāpakam*—"(they establish) meditation on Him, together with its *aṅgas* as the means to obtain Him". It is clear from this that the means to *mokṣa* is *upāsana* and *'bhagavat-prapatti'*, 'resorting to Bhagavān', means that *upāsana* should have the Lord only as its object. Or, 'resorting to', may be taken in the sense of 'obtaining to'—release is possible only by obtaining the Lord. It is of interest to note that two of the manuscripts of the *Vedārthasaṁgraha* collated by J. A. R. Van Buitenen*, have different readings, one replacing *'bhagavatprapattim'* by *'bhagavat-pratipattim'* and the other by *'bhagavatprāptim'*. These variations may simply be due to mis-copying, but both terms give the meaning which Rāmānuja wishes to convey.

A little further on Rāmānuja uses the same phrasing again—*mokṣaḥ bhagavatprapattim antareṇa na upapadyate*—here, he gives scriptural support for his statement. He says this is established in the *smṛti—daivī hyeṣā guṇamayī mama māyā duratyayā, mām eva ye prapadyante māyām etām taranti te*—"For this is My divine *guṇa*-composed by *māyā*, hard to get past; those who resort to Me

*Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṁgraha*, Poona. 1956.

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alone, they cross over this *māyā*" (*Bhagavadgītā* 7.14). In his commentary on this śloka Rāmānuja says—*mām eva... ye śaraṇam prapadyante ta etām madīyām guṇamayīm māyām taranti—māyā-mutsṛjya mām evopāsate*—"Those who resort to Me alone as refuge, cross over my *guṇa*-composed *māyā*—having removed the *māyā*, they meditate on Me only". In his introduction to the next *śloka*, he uses the phrase—*bhagavadupāsanāpādinīm bhagavatpra-pattim*—"*bhagavatprapatti* which causes one to arrive at *bhaga-vadupāsanā*". Here he uses '*prapatti*' to mean the same as in '*śaraṇam prapadyante*' and it is closely associated with meditation. Returning to the *Vedārthasaṁgraha*, Rāmānuja says that this is also established in the *śruti—nānyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate*—"There is no other path by which to tread". The complete text from the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 3.13.1 which read—*tam evam vidvān amṛta iha bhavati nānyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate*—is one which Rāmānuja uses again and again to establish that release is due to *upāsana* or bhakti which is the same as '*vedana*'. We must conclude from this that *prapatti* is not to be distinguished from *bhakti* or *upāsana*. It may seem that in the *Gītā* passage *prapatti* is an act prior to meditation, which clears away obstacles to that meditation. There is no contradiction between this and the quote from *śruti* if we understand that Rāmānuja is not enumerating steps in a process, but is emphasizing that one's *upāsana* or *bhakti* should be directed toward Bhagavān alone—that one succeeds in his *upāya* only if he is oriented in every way toward the Supreme Being.

These are the only occurrences of the word '*prapatti*' in the *Vedārthasaṁgraha*, but on page 23 following, in elaborating the means for obtaining Bhagavān, Rāmānuja employs '*śaraṇā-gati*'. He begins—*so'yam parabrahmabhūtaḥ puruṣottamaḥ ... ananyaprayojana— anavaratanirati śayapriya — viśadatamapratyakṣa-tāpanna-anudhyānarūpa-bhaktyekalabhyaḥ*—

That Highest Person who is the Supreme Brahman, is to be obtained only by *bhakti* which has the form of constant meditation endowed with the most vivid perception, extremely dear, uninter-rupted, and having no other object...

Then, in a long series of genitives he enumerates what must go into the development of this kind of *bhakti*. The Supreme is to be obtained by the *bhakti*

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> of one whose mass of *pāpa* heaped up during all previous births is destroyed by the accumulation of unequalled *puṇya*, one towards whom the Supreme Person is favorable due to seeking refuge at His lotus-like feet (*paramapuruṣacaraṇāravindaśaraṇāgati-janita-tadābhimukhyasya*), one who has developed spiritual qualities...accumulating them day by day after having gained knowledge of the true nature of the real from the scriptures...taught by good ācāryas, one who is devoted to the performance of *nitya* and *naimittika karma*...as forms of worship of the Supreme Person, one for whom the darkness concealing the innermost self has been destroyed by the grace of the...Supreme Person who is pleased by the *stuti*, *smṛti*, *namaskṛti*, *yatna*, *kīrtana*, *guṇaśravaṇavacana*, *dhyāna*, *arcana*, *praṇāma*, and the like, which are due to this *bhakti*...

Rāmānuja sums up what he has stated here by quoting from Yāmunācārya's *Ātmasiddhi*—*ubhayaparikarmitasvāntasya aikāntikātyantikabhaktiyogalabhyaḥ*—"He is to be obtained by endless exclusive *bhaktiyoga*, by one whose innermost being has been purified by both" (*karmayoga* and *jñānayoga*). Thus, '*śaraṇāgati*' is encompassed within the *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* yogas. It refers to a basic orientation of one's self which underlies one's spiritual development. It may be termed, along with several other items enumerated, an '*aṅga*' to *bhakti*, but it is not a specific act to be *performed* or a stage in development. One's *śaraṇāgati* is expressed through his performance of *karma* as worship, through his *bhakti* which involves praise, meditation, etc.

In Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, the *Śrī Bhāṣya*, there is no mention of *prapatti*. There is, however, one significant passage in which '*śaraṇāgati*' is employed. In his commentary on *sūtra* 1.4.1, he seeks to refute the Sāṅkhya interpretation of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 3-10-11. The *Kaṭha* text reads as follows:

> The objects are superior to the *indriyas*, the *manas* is superior to the objects, the *buddhi* is superior to the *manas*, the great *ātman* is superior to the *buddhi*, the unmanifested is superior to the great one, and the

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> *Puruṣa* is superior to the unmanifested. Nothing is superior to the *Puruṣa*, He is the ultimate, the Supreme Goal.

Rāmānuja says that the text is delineating the order in which things must be controlled if one is to attain to that highest place of Viṣṇu. *Puruṣa* here refers to the Supreme. He says :

> More important even than that (the body) is the Highest Person who is the Supreme, the passage way, the Inner Ruler, who is the Inner *Ātman* of all—since the activity of all extending as far as the *ātman*, as stated, depends on the will of Him; He, by being the Inner Ruler of all, is also the perfector of *upāsana*; for it will be said in *sūtra* 2-3-41, that the activity of the *jīvātman* depends on the Supreme Person: He alone is the ultimate *upāya* for accomplishing the *upāsana* which is to be brought under control and is the Supreme Object to be attained ...and the subjugation of Him (the getting of His help) is only through taking refuge in Him...(*tasya ca vaśīkaraṇam tat-śaraṇāgatir eva*).

Upāsana is the *upāya* for *mokṣa*. But in order to accomplish this *upāsana*, one must get the help of the Supreme Person. He is the ultimate *upāya*. His help is secured by taking refuge in Him. As authority for this Rāmānuja cites *Bhagavadgītā* 18.61-62.

> The Lord abides in the heart of all beings, Arjuna, causing all beings, by His *māyā*, to turn around as if fixed in a machine. To Him alone go for refuge with thy whole being, son of Bharata. By His grace, you will attain supreme peace and the eternal station.

His commentary on this passage defines '*śaraṇam gaccha*' as '*sarvātmanā anuvartasva*'–go after or approach with all one's being, At the stage of means, Bhagavān's pleasure must be had in order to accomplish this means. Seeing that Bhagavān alone is the goal and that He, as *antaryāmi*, is capable of aiding one to control the body, *ātman*, *buddhi*, *manas*, *arthas* and *indriyas*, one should approach Him in every respect, i.e., one should direct his *bhakti* only towards Him.

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From the instances we have cited, it is evident that Rāmānuja relies solely on the *Bhagavadgītā* in his usage of *prapatti* and *śaraṇāgati*. Chapter seven of the *Gītā*, which Rāmānuja characterizes as the central chapter on *bhakti*, is also the most significant for its references to *prapatti*. In his introduction to the chapter he says—

tatra saptame tāvad upāsyabhūtaparamapuruṣasvarūpa yāthātmyam, prakṛtyā tattirodhānam, tannivṛttaye bhagavatprapattiḥ, upāsakavidhabhedo, jñāninaḥ śraiṣṭhyam cocyate—

In the seventh chapter is stated: the true nature of the *svarūpa* of the Supreme Person who is the object of meditation, the veiling of that nature due to *prakṛti*, the *prapatti* to Bhagavān in order to terminate this veil, the various kinds of upāsakas and the superiority of the *jñānin*.

The meaning of '*tannivṛttaye bhagavatprapattiḥ*' is made clear in śloka 14 which we have already noted: one crosses over or removes the *prākṛta māyā* which is an obstacle to meditation on Bhagavān, by taking refuge in Him alone. The commentary on śloka 16 states the same thing in different terms—*puṇyakarmāṇo mām śaraṇam upagamya mām eva bhajante*- "Those performing good deeds, having sought Me as their refuge, worship (meditate on) Me alone". If we conclude from these references that *prapatti* is prior to *upāsana* or *aṅga* to *upāsana*, the commentary on śloka 19 only serves to confuse us. The *śloka* reads :

> At the end of many Births the *jñāni* resorts to Me (*mām prapadyante*) ; that noble one who thinks, 'Vāsudeva is all', is hard to find.

and Rāmānuja paraphrases:

> At the end of many meritorious births, having become a man of knowledge thinking, '*I am a śeṣa to Vāsudeva*, and my actions, maintenance and essential nature depend on Him: He is most supreme by His countless auspicious attributes' ; then, he resorts to Me (*mām prapadyante*), i.e., he meditates on Me (*mām upāsate*), thinking, 'Vāsudeva alone is my highest goal and means (*prāpyam prāpakam ca*), whatsoever abides in the heart, He is all that to me'.

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The man who knows the truth about himself, i.e., that he is one whose sole reason for being is to serve the purposes of the Lord, directs his meditation only towards that Lord—this is what is meant by 'resorting to Me'. While it is true that one is *śeṣa* in fact as well as thought, the emphasis here is on the mental attitude. The 'resort' is only with regard to meditation. This equation of '*mām prapadyante*' with '*mām Upāsate*' shows that Rāmānuja does not wish to see *prapatti* as a distinct act, *aṅga* to *upāsana*. Rather, he is emphasizing, by the use of this term, that all one's efforts should be directed toward Bhagavān, that release comes only by His grace.

That there is to be no clear distinction between the *prapatti* and the *bhakti* is reinforced by 14.26 where Rāmānuja says that the guṇas of *prakṛti* are surmounted only by the *bhaktiyoga*—*athaivam-rūpaguṇātyaye pradhānahetum āha*—

Now the chief means by which to surmount the aforesaid guṇas is stated.

Then follows the *Gītā* text :

> And whoso serves Me with unswerving bhaktiyoga, he, transcending the guṇas, is fit for becoming *brahman.*

We remember that in 7.14, Rāmānuja's central authority on *prapatti*, he states that the guṇas are surmounted by taking refuge. In 14.27 he says :

etad uktam bhavati—pūrvatra, daivī hyeṣā guṇamayī ityārabhya guṇātyayasya tatpūrvakākṣaraiśvaryabhagavatprāptīnām ca bhagavatprapattyekopāyatāyāḥ pratipāditatvād ekāntabhagavatprapattyekopāyo guṇātyayas tatpūrvakabrahmabhāvaśceti—

> What has been stated is this : since in the preceding, 'This is my divine guṇa composed...etc.', and following, the *prapatti* to Bhagavān is established as being the one means of surmounting the guṇas and of obtaining *akṣara*, *aiśvarya* or Bhagavān following that—one-pointed *prapatti* to Bhagavān is the one *upāya* for surmounting the guṇas and attaining *Brahman.*

Since everywhere else Rāmānuja states that *Bhaktiyoga* is the means to *akṣara*, *aiśvarya* and Bhagavān, it is clear that *prapatti*

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is the same as the *bhaktiyoga*. We may take *bhagavatprapatti* in two senses, the first as *aṅga* to *bhaktiyoga* in order to remove obstacles ; and the second as the equivalent of the *bhaktiyoga*. But this is not altogether satisfactory. Rāmānuja is not emphasizing the *prapatti* here. He is emphasizing the fact that if one hopes to achieve certain ends, he must recognize that Bhagavān is the giver of these ends and must therefore direct his *Bhaktiyoga* only towards Him. It would not be incorrect to take Rāmānuja's comments in the *Śrī Bhāṣya*, regarding '*śaraṇāgati*', as applying throughout.

Bhagavadgītā 15.11 sheds further light in this direction of understanding. The śloka reads :

> Yogins striving, perceive Him also as located in the *ātman*; even though striving, those whose *ātman* is unperfected perceive Him not, the fools.

Rāmānuja's commentary is significant—he introduces *prapatti* here, where there is not the slightest reference to it in the *Gītā* text, in order to distinguish between the two kinds of yogins spoken of—

> Yogins, striving in *karmayoga*, etc., preceded by resorting to Me, their inner organ purified by these...they see that which is located in the body...even though striving, those whose *ātman* is unperfected, i.e., those who have not resorted to Me...they are without the mind fit for *ātmāvalokana*...

The emphasis here is clearly on the 'Me' and not on the *prapatti*. Those striving for *mokṣa* through *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga* will be unsuccessful, unless they rely on Me as their object and as the giver of the fruit.

This brings us to consider the last and perhaps most significant passage in the *Gītā Bhāṣya*, with regard to the matter we are examining—18.66:

> Renouncing all dharmas, seek Me alone as refuge; I will release you from all sins; do not grieve.

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While later ācāryas take this passage as a special pronouncement, standing on its own, Rāmānuja sees it as intimately related to all that has been stated before. He states this right at the beginning of his *Bhāṣya* (2.10) when he says :

> ...beginning with '*na tvevāham jātu nāsam*' (2.12) and ending with '*aham tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ*' (18.66), embodies the *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga* which are the *upāyas* for obtaining the true nature of the *ātman* and the *Paramātman*...

Rāmānuja gives two interpretations for the *Gītā* passage : it may mean :

> Performing, according to ability, all *dharmas*, *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga*, *bhaktiyoga*, which are the means to supreme felicity, with intense love, as worship of Me—renouncing the fruit, the action, the doership, etc. as stated before—reflect on Me alone as the doer, the object of worship, the end and the means.

or, it may mean :

> ...renouncing all dharmas which are expiations with reference to the infinite kinds of sins accumulated ... as obstacles to the commencement of *bhaktiyoga*...in order to effect the commencement of the *bhaktiyoga*, resort to Me as sole refuge...I will release you from all sins ; which obstruct your beginning *bhakti* which has the essential nature described above...

Later ācāryas say that this śloka of the *Gītā* has the primary meaning that one should give up all prescribed means and simply throw one's self on the mercy of the Lord for salvation. It is clear, as Vedānta Deśika himself admits, that there is no basis for this interpretation in Rāmānuja's thought. While he states several times that Bhagavān is the *upāya*, he does not mean thereby that one should give up the practice of *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga*. His interpretation of this passage does not deviate in any respect from his employment of *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* elsewhere.

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We may sum up Rāmānuja's concept of *prapatti* in his major works, by use of his own words. In *Bhagavadgītā* 4.1-3, he puts these words in the mouth of Bhagavān who is speaking to Arjuna :

> *sakhyena atimātrabhaktyā ca mām eva prapannāya te mayā proktaḥ*—I have stated this to you because you have resorted to Me alone as a friend and with excessive bhakti...

The burden of Rāmānuja's thought with regard to *upāya* is not only that *bhakti*, which is the same as *upāsana* or *dhyāna*, is the means, but also that this means can only be accomplished by getting the grace of the Lord. For this purpose he quotes over and over *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 2.23, *nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyaḥ*...

> This Atman is not to be obtained by study of the Vedas, nor by intellect, nor even by much learning; he whom this one chooses, by him is He to be obtained; to him, This one reveals His own form.

And, for this purpose, Rāmānuja employs derivatives of '*prapad*' and '*śaraṇam-gam*', following their use in the *Bhagavadgītā*. It must be said, however, that Rāmānuja's use of *prapatti* and *śaraṇāgati*, and his several references to Bhagavān as the *upāya*, makes his thought fertile ground for the later developments in this *sampradāya*.

I approach the consideration of the *Gadyatraya* with some degree of caution, knowing that the early commentators on the hymns of Nāmmālvār, the first of whom was a disciple of Rāmānuja and all of whom rely on Rāmānuja's thought, make no mention of these *gadyas*. Further, to my knowledge, there is no mention of them as Rāmānuja's until Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa, an early contemporary of Vedānta Deśika. We must approach, bearing in mind all that Rāmānuja has said in his major works.

The *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, the longest and most significant of the three, is written up as a conversation, first between the author and Śrī, the consort of Nārāyaṇa, and later between the author and Nārāyaṇa, Himself. It begins with an address to Śrī :

> ... *ananyaśaraṇaḥ śaraṇam aham prapadye*...Having no other refuge, I resort to Bhagavatī, Śrī, Devī, etc....as refuge...

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Then, he asks :

> May my...taking refuge (*śaraṇāgati*) at the lotus-like feet of Bhagavān be continuous and un-ending in order to obtain that eternal service (*nityakaiṅkarya*)...which is caused by the unlimited and unsurpassed love...which arises from the experience of Bhagavān (*bhagavadanubhava*)...which is due to *parabhakti*, *parajñāna* and *paramabhakti* ..

He asks that by his taking refuge in Bhagavān, he might get that *parabhakti*, *parajñāna*, and *paramabhakti* which leads to *nityakaiṅkarya*. Śrī answers : " Let it be so for you; everything will be fulfilled by this alone ".

The first question that arises is: what is meant by *parabhakti*, *parajñāna*, *paramabhakti*? Rāmānuja nowhere uses this phrase, nor does he employ the terms, '*parajñāna*' and '*paramabhakti*'. He speaks of *parabhakti*, several times as the culmination of the practice of *bhaktiyoga* (see pages 44 and 45 of *Vedārthasaṁgraha*). The second question is with regard to '*nityakaiṅkarya*'. It evidently refers to service to the Lord in the state of release. Here again, Rāmānuja does not use the term. He speaks of the state of release only in terms of *bhagavadanubhava* or *ātmānubhava*. He speaks of the *ātman* having equal enjoyment with Bhagavān due to the fullest expansion of its knowledge-attribute.

There is no clear reference here to any 'means', other than the act of *śaraṇāgati*. Śrī's answer seems to vouchsafe the attainment of this state of eternal service simply as the result of his having taken refuge. There follows a lengthy address to Nārāyaṇa, in which the author, "having no other refuge" (*ananyaśaraṇas*), resorts to His two-lotus-like feet as refuge (*pādāravindayugalam śaraṇamaham prapadye*). Then we read, '*atra dvayam*'—" Now, two". Vedānta Deśika, writing 150 years after Rāmānuja, says that the *Śaraṇāgatigadya* is Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Dvaya Mantram*, the *mantram* which is uttered in the performance of *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati*. '*Atra dvayam*' then means, 'here, I have finished my elaboration of the *Dvaya Mantram*'. The question as to whether Rāmānuja is here referring to the *Dvaya Mantram* is a very difficult one, not within the scope of this paper. On the basis of the text, it seems most likely that '*atra dvayam*' simply refers to the following two ślokas :

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> Having given up father, mother, wife, etc...all *dharmas*, all *kāmas*, and the experience of the *ātman*, I seek Thy two feet...O Lord, as my refuge.

We must understand 'all *dharmas*' here in terms of Rāmānuja's commentary on *Bhagavadgītā* 18.66. And, it seems logical to conclude that the author, being one who has given up all *dharmas*, all *kāmas* and the experience of *kaivalya*, wishes to be considered a bhaktiyogin who seeks only to obtain Bhagavān.

After three ślokas praising the Lord as Father, Mother, Guru and so on, relying on chapter eleven of the *Gītā*, Rāmānuja asks for the pardon of his innumerable sins :

> Help me who has stated, 'I am your servant, I am one who has taken refuge', to cross over the divine *guṇa*-composed *māyā*...

Here, he is not asking for *mokṣa* or *bhagavadanubhava*, by the fact of his *śaraṇāgati*, but is asking for the removal of sins and the veil of *māyā* which separates him from the Lord. The passage, even the words used (*daivīm guṇamayīm māyām*), takes our mind immediately to *Gītā* 7.14. Then he says :

> *iti ślokatrayoditajñāninam mām kuruṣva*—Make me a *jñāni* as stated in these three ślokas (he then quotes *Bhagavadgītā* 7.17-19–We note that Rāmānuja's commentary on 7.19 equated '*mām prapadyate*' with '*mām upāsate*). *sthānatrayodita-parabhaktiyuktam mām kuruṣva*—Make me one who possesses the supreme *bhakti* which is stated in these three places (he quotes *Bhagavadgītā* 8. 22, 11. 54, and 18. 54).
>
> *parabhakti parajñāna paramabhaktyekasvabhāvam mām kuruṣva* —Make me endowed solely with *parabhakti*, *parajñāna* and *paramabhakti*...
>
> Having attained the infinite and unsurpassed bliss of the experience of Bhagavān...which has resulted from *parabhakti*, *parajñāna*, and *paramabhakti*, may I become the eternal servant...

There is a definite progression here. The *jñāni*, one who practices the *bhaktiyoga*, reaches the stage of supreme *bhakti*, supreme know-

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ledge and the most supreme *bhakti*, which leads to the experience of Bhagavān and to eternal service.

Then, Bhagavān gives his reply :

> Even though you are without all the things prescribed as the means to obtain this service to Me, though you are overcome by countless sins...since, by whatever mode, you have uttered the *dvaya*, by My compassion alone, the obstacles to *parabhakti*, *parajñāna* and *paramabhakti* towards My two lotus-like feet, together with their causes, are completely destroyed, and by My grace alone, you will have a vision...remain happy here at Śrīrangam until the body is cast off, uttering always the *dvayam* with reflection on its meaning...At the time of the body falling off... you will at that very moment, become My eternal servant...Have no doubts about this. I have myself stated as follows :

He quotes Rāma's vow in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

> To one who seeks succour from Me only once as a suppliant and says, 'I am thine', I vouchsafe freedom from the fear of all beings and *Bhagavadgītā* 18.66.

Up to the point of Bhagavān's reply, the author clearly states that he is performing this *śaraṇāgati*, following *Gītā* 7. 14 and 18. 66, in order that the obstacles which stand in the way of his performing *bhakti* as the means of obtaining Bhagavān may be removed. Bhakti is definitely the means and taking refuge is only *aṅga* to this. However, Bhagavān's reply leads us to conclude that *mokṣa* and *bhagavadanubhava* will be granted to the devotee at the death of his body, simply as a result of his having taken refuge. Further, whatever the '*dvayam*' here refers to, it is clear that emphasis is laid on its being uttered as a *mantram* which effects release by the Lord's grace. We have seen that Rāmānuja does not consider the act of taking refuge as in itself qualifying one for supreme bliss. Nor, does he use the term '*prapatti*' or '*śaraṇāgati*' as referring to a separate act involving such an utterance. Taking refuge is expressed in and through the *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga*. It is intimately bound up with *upāsana* or *bhakti*. When Rāmānuja quotes from the *Gītā*, as he does throughout, we have the right to expect that what he says in this *gadya* must agree with what he has said in his *Bhāṣya*.

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This is a very perplexing writing—parts of it being so clearly based in Rāmānuja's thought, and yet, parts of it clearly not based in Rāmānuja's thought. Since this is a devotional outpouring, we may avoid some difficulties by saying that Rāmānuja, in his devotional fervor has exaggerated. This does not, however, answer the question as to the manner in which *śaraṇāgati* is expressed, nor, does it account for the emphasis here on *nityakaiṅkarya*, which is clearly beyond what Rāmānuja had in mind for the *mokṣa* state, or for the phrase, *parabhakti parajñāna paramabhakti*, which is not to be found elsewhere in Rāmānuja's writings. From the considerations made here, I must conclude that Rāmānuja did not write this *gadya*.

The *Śrīraṅgagadya* begins with a prayer to Puruṣottama, the Supreme Brahman, who takes His repose in Śrīraṅgam, asking that the author might become His eternal servant. Here, as in the *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, this eternal service is due to the love which arises from *bhagavadanubhava*. Then, the devotee states that he is without the spiritual qualities which give rise to right action, which in turn is the means to right knowledge which leads to the *bhakti* which is the means to obtain *nityakaiṅkarya* which arises from the love born of experience of Bhagavān. He says, "Seeing no other *upāya* (*adṛṣṭasantaropāyaḥ*)...I resort to your two lotus-like feet as refuge (*tava caraṇāravinda yugalam śaraṇamaham prapadye*)". The goal here is *nityakaiṅkarya* and the prescribed means is *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga*.

'Seeing no other *upāya*', may mean, since there is no other *upāya* but the *karmayoga*, etc. and I am without this, I seek your help in qualifying me for this *upāya*. Or, it may mean, since I am without the prescribed means and I see no other means, I ask you to give me the supreme goal simply for my having cast my burden on you. The second alternative seems most likely when we read the next sentence:

> This being the situation, I pray that,...by merely asking, Bhagavān, who is supremely merciful, will bestow upon me the favor of His eternal service...Give me this, by thy grace, O Lord, I know no ther way.

Simply by this act of taking refuge, he is asking the Lord to give him *mokṣa* without having to perform any other means. The *gadya* concludes with words of praise to Śrīraṅganātha.

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The following problems are raised by this *gadya*: first, if Rāmānuja wrote the *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, what would be the necessity for writing this *gadya* which says the same thing, and in fact, uses much the same terminology? Second, the statement of the supreme goal as being *nityakaiṅkarya*, and of the means to that goal as being solely the taking of refuge in the Lord, is foreign to Rāmānuja's thought. Third, this *śaraṇāgati* is evidently performed before the image at Śrīraṅgam, an image which is taken to be a full *avatāra* of Brahman. While Rāmānuja accepts *arcā*-worship, it can be shown that he does not accept the *arcā* as *avatāra*, nor does he place such emphasis on *arcā*-worship in his *upāya*. It therefore seems probable that Rāmānuja did not write this *gadya*.

Like the *Śrīraṅgagadya*, the *Śrīvaikuṇṭhagadya* is very short, but it has an entirely different theme. After a short introduction, it sets forth a very lengthy and flowery description of *Vaikuṇṭha* which is supposed to be meditated upon. The introduction is of interest to our study.

The author begins by stating:

> Having dived into Yāmunācārya's ocean of ambrosia to the best of my understanding, I have brought the gem called *bhaktiyoga* and am holding it up to view.

From this we take it that the subject matter following has to do with the *bhaktiyoga*. Then, he says:

> Having accepted Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa, as master, well-wisher, and guru...and thinking that in order to obtain Him, there is, even in thousands of crores of kalpas, for me, no other means but *prapatti* at his two lotus-like feet...one should seek refuge...

We can only conclude from this that *prapatti* is the same as *bhaktiyoga*, a conclusion which we have arrived at also on the basis of the *Gītā Bhāṣya*. The remainder of the *gadya* makes no reference to *prapatti*. From the matters to which we have given attention, there seems no reason to conclude that this writing is not Rāmānuja's. In any case, what is stated neither adds nor detracts from the understanding of Rāmānuja's concept of *prapatti* which we have arrived at.

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ALAUKIKA SANNIKARṢA

In Nyāya Theory of Perception

Bimal Krishna Matilal, Calcutta

The term "*alaukika sannikarṣa*" or "*alaukika pratyakṣa*" appears to be a bit confusing at the first sight,. It is only natural that the Naiyāyika's doctrine of '*alaukika sannikarṣa*' invites strong criticism from different schools and opens the flood-gate of controversies. The object of the small paper is to tell the story of this dispute in a nut-shell and to show how far the doctrine appeals to a logical mind.

Perception or perceptual cognition necessarily depends for its origin or emergence upon the sense-object contact. If an emergent cognition is identified as a perceptual cognition, then there must be some particular and specified contact between the sense-organ and the object to account for its origin (*Pratyakṣatvāvacchedena Sannikarṣatvam Niyamaḥ*). The Naiyāyika asserts this principle and generally notes down six varieties of such sense-object contact and groups them under one broad head e.g. *Laukika Sannikarṣa* : contact *ordinarily discerned.* They are :

(1) *Saṁyoga* or conjunction. It is the most common and well known relation existing between two substances (*dravya*). Metaphysically considered, the sense-organs are but substances, according to the Naiyāyika. So while perceiving a material body (a tea-pot, say), the object is directly conjoined with our sense-organ (*indriya*). As I cognise for instance the tea-pot by my touch or through my eyes, the tea-pot is in direct conjunction with my organ. In case of actual organ the physical conjunction is evident. In case of ocular organ, the *Naiyāyika* takes pains to establish this physical conjunction and disputes with the Buddhist as regards the *prāpyakāritva* of the sense-organs.

(2) *Saṁyukta samavāya* ; When I perceive the colour or size of the tea-pot, the perceived object here not being a substance (*dravya*) cannot be conjoined to my sense-organ. The colour or size is inherent in the pot which is in its turn conjoined to my

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sense-organ. The sense-object contact is accordingly noted by the Naiyāyika as a chain of relation e.g. inherence in the conjoined or shortly conjunction-cum-inherence (*Saṁyukta-samavāya*).

(3) *Saṁyukta-samaveta-samavāya*: When the blueness of the colour or bigness of the size appears in our perceptual cognition the sense-object relation gets more complex. Blueness is a property of the colour and inheres in the colour which is inherent in the tea-pot. And this tea-pot is directly conjoined to the eyes. The relation is thus named as conjunction-cum–inherence-cum-inherence (*Saṁyukta-samaveta samavāya*).

(4) *Samavāya:* Sound is perceived through ear. The Naiyāyika describes ear-organ as *gagana* or sky in essence. *Gagana* is recognised as a substance or *dravya* where the property sound inheres as it is brought into existence. We hear a sound as it comes to inhere in the ear-organ. The sense-object contact is simple here, e.g. *Samavāya.*

(5) *Samaveta-samavāya*: As the sweetness or harshness or soundness (*Śabdatva*) of the sound is comprehended, the sense-object relation becomes again complex. 'Soundness' inheres in the sound and sound inheres in the auditory organ. So the contact is named as inherence-cum-inherence (*Samaveta-samavāya*).

(6) *Viśeṣaṇatā*: Besides the above five, a sixth relation is also recognised to explain most of the cases of perception. It is *viseṣaṇatā* or adjuncthood—a second name for *Svarūpa* relation. For example, as I perceive the absence of tea-pot in the table, the said absence is neither capable of being conjoined to the eyes nor inherent in the table which is conjoined to the eyes. It is but an adjunct (*Viśeṣaṇa*) to the table. The relation is thus named as conjunction-cum-adjuncthood (*Saṁyukta-viśeṣaṇatā*). Adjuncts or adjectives are said to be perceived through this peculiar contactual relation *Viśeṣaṇatā.* Note that this contactual relation is never simple like *saṁyoga* or *samavāya*, but always multiple like *saṁyukta-viśeṣaṇatā* etc.

These six contactual relations have been grouped under one class of perceptual contact which is technically called "*laukika sannikarṣa*". In all such cases, the object (*viṣaya*) to be perceived

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is always presented to the corresponding and 'competent' sense-organ at the time of perception, so that such a contactual relation may be established with the organ. The adjective 'competent' to the sense-organ needs a bit explanation. The Naiyāyika asserts that under ordinary cases particular objects are sensed through one particular sense-organ. The respective organs are held as the competent organ(*grāhaka-indriya*)for comprehending the respective objects. Eye, for instance, is competent for grasping colour or size but not for hardness or smell. Nose is for smell but not for colour and the like.

Now the Naiyāyika points out that there are many other cases of perception where the above scheme of contactual relation will not be much helpful. It may so happen in such cases that the object is not 'physically' present before the organ at the time of perception, or that though 'physically' present it is not being sensed through its "competent" organ (*Grāhaka indriya*). To explain such cases, some other types of contact or sense-relation have got to be postulated and the Naiyāyika generally notes three varieties of such contacts: *jñānalakṣaṇa*, *sāmānyalaksaṇa*, and *yogaja*. The general name for this type of contactual relation is '*Alaukika sannikarṣa*' *or* '*Alaukika pratyāsatti*' (contact *not ordinarily adjudged or discerned*).

To start with an instance of perceptual error like the following:

Seeing a rope we err, "This is a snake". The Naiyāyika describes this as a 'pure' case of perceptual judgment, "this" (the substantive or *viśeṣya*) referring to the object lying before us and thereby conjoined (*saṁyukta*) to our eyes. But wherefrom does the adjective (*prakāra*), snake appear in the cognition. This leads to the nucleus of the well-known problem of error which is the breeding ground of philosophical controversies. Different schools have approached the problem from different angles. The Nyāya method of solution is partly connected with its doctrine of "*alaukika sannikarṣa*" or more specifically with *jñānalakṣaṇa sannikarṣa*.

The rope lies connected (i.e. conjoined) with eyes. Snake is not now "physically" present within the purview of ocular organ. But certain peculiarities of the situation-want of sufficient light,

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crawling and coiling nature of the rope similar to that of a° snake etc.—revive in the mind the memory of snake (which has already been experienced on many occasions). This revived cognition i.e. this memory-cognition about the snake, which does not take the form of a judgment here like "this is snake" or "that was snake" but becomes simply like 'a snake' (*tattāṁśa-vinirmukta-sarpasmaraṇam*) — acts in the capacity of the contact connecting the "non-presented" snake on the one hand and the ocular organ on the other hand. Thereby the perceptual error like "this is snake" is produced with snake as the identical adjective (*tādātmyena prakāra*) of the presented object (i. e. rope). The snake, though not "physically" present, yet is presented here by the revived cognition or *smṛti* as described above through the relation of being its cognitum (*viṣayatā*). The sense-relation there is nothing but a sort of memory cognition and the Naiyāyika names it as the *jñānalakṣaṇa sannikarṣa.*

One may, however, polemise with this question: why the resulting error is to be held as 'purely' a perceptual error in all respects for which this crazy search for sense object is to be justified? The Naiyāyika will reply that introspection (*anu-vyavasāya*) of such cognitive states shows that it is a perceptual cognition. Moreover, our efforts and activities (*pravṛtti*) which follow in the wake of such erroneous judgments prove that it is a perceptual error.

Besides this, the service of *jñānalakṣaṇa sannikarṣa* is also requisitioned to explain the following sorts of perceptual judgments: "Ice looks cold"; "The sandal-wood looks fragrant". "Ice looks cold" is a visual form of judgment where ice stands conjoined to eyes; but coolness which appears as adjective (*prakāra*) is not ordinarily cognisable through the visual organ. Past tactual experience of coolness and ice have got so much mixed up that at the sight of the ice that experience or cognition of coolness is revived; and this revived cognition as before acts as an "*alaukika*" contact between coolness and the ocular organ.

Next we come to *Sāmānyalakṣaṇa sannikarṣa*, and the Naiyāyika's position in this respect should be understood with care and caution. We see a cow and the universal cowness (*gotva*) inherent in it as well through normal sense-object contact like

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conjunction and conjunction-cum-inherence respectively. This may be followed by another perception of all the cows—past, present and future, far and near—wherever cow-universal resides. The Naiyāyika asserts that such a perception is not an impossibility but often a fact. But how can such individual cows come in contact with the ocular organ at a time when only one such individual is lying conjoined to it? We have first ordinary external perception (*laukika bāhya pratyakṣa*) of the presented cow-individual where the universal character (*sāmānya dharma*) cowness appears as *prakāra* or adjective. This cognition of universal character, or, in another view, the cognised universal character cowness itself (*cf. sāmānyajñānam jñātasāmānyaṁ vā*) serves here as the contact coalescing the two extremes, the ocular organ and the cow-individuals which include those that existed in the past and would appear in future, those that lie close and those distantly removed. It is also submitted that such external perception comprising all cow-individuals through the cognised cow-universal (or cognition of cow individuals) is only possible when at least one such cow-individual is in *normal contact* with the sense-organ. If this normal contact ceases, the "*alaukika*" contact will also be barren.

The justification for advocating such "*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa-sannikarṣa*" has been explained in various ways. The chief argument is connected with the Nyāya theory of inductive generalisation. Gaṅgeśa asserts that the relation of universal concomitance between smoke and fire is comprehended generally through the perception of their co-existence or concomitance in a particular instance. The universals like fireness, smokeness etc. and the universal aspects like the character of co-existence etc. do appear in the perceptual cognition as qualifying properties; and cognition of such universals and universal aspects leads as above to the perception of all instances of concomitance between smoke and fire. But for such a perception of all instances it would be impossible for us to infer fire in the mountain simply by seeing mountain smoke. Because in the observed instance (i. e. the kitchen) we "normally" perceive the kitchen-smoke as concomitant with the kitchen-fire, but not so the mountain-smoke which has been perceived. Thus the office of *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa-sannikarṣa* is requisitioned for justifying the perception comprising all instances of such

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concomitance. Even the perceptual doubt like, "Does smoke invariably co-exist with fire or not" which may occur in the sceptic's mind on seeing one instance of their co-existence, relates to all smokes, if not all fires. And as such, the Naiyāyika argues, one cannot reasonably entertain such doubt unless one has somehow or other visual experience of all smokes-past, present and future. Some advocate *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* for justifying the cognition of generic negation (*sāmānyābhāva*), some for the perception of darkness and so on. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, however, is reluctant to admit the claim of *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa* as a sense-contact, and he explains, of course, the above problems in a new light. But in this short compass there is little scope for entering into those subtle arguments.

The third type, the "*Yogaja*" contact need not engage us long. The Yogins, it is enjoined in their *Śāstras*, develop through concentration and practice some special merit or "*Adṛṣṭa*", which enables them to pereive objects lying beyond the scope of ordinary perception, e. g., distant objects, atoms etc. What serves here the function of sense-relation is not a "mystic" power, but rather a sort of "*adṛṣṭa*" or merit acquired through some process (best known to them). The Naiyāyika himself does not advocate it but accepts the authority of *Yogaśāstra*. He is at the same time conscious of its 'supralogical' nature and accordingly does not lose much time and energy over this point.

The above theory of "*alaukika sannikarṣa*" does not find favour with the Mīmāṁsakas and the Advaitins. In their opinion, the said types of cognitions, which the Naiyāyika asserts to be perceptual and for which he advances his queer theory of *alaukika* sense-relation, may well be treated as non-perceptual cognitions. The Mīmāṁsaka says that errornous judgment like "This is snake" is partly perceptual and partly non-perceptual in character. The Advaitin argues: if the above judgments are held as perceptual in character and if some cognition or *jñāna* be held as the connective link between sense-organ and object, then similar logic may well drag all inferential cognitions like "The mountain is fiery" under the purview of perception so that the theory of *anumāna* will fall flat (cf. *anumāna-mātrocchedāpatti*). Universal judgments relating to smokes and fires in general terms, for which 'sāmānya lakṣaṇa" is adumb-

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rated, are, in this view, explained as results of the synthesis which a thinker's mind is capable of making. This synthesis may be effected either through a negative process or through a positive process. In negative synthesis particular individuals only are observed and brought into relation with each other as determined by certain generic features, the individualities of the individuals being entirely overlooked for the moment. Thus this negative synthesis may be explained with normal perceptual sense-relation(*laukika sannikarṣa*). The positive synthesis is found to involve a sort of inferential process. In this case a generalisation of all the conceivable individuals is definitely contemplated and it is effectuated by the thinker's mind passing from particular to universal. Yogic perception is recognised by the Advaitin as a short of mental perception (*mānasapratyakṣa*), and not "*alaukika*" perception. The Mīmāṁsaka, however, rejects Yogic perception.

We have already referred to the Naiyāyika's answer to such polemics. He will take the above judgment as perceptual on the authority of the introspection or *anuvyavasāya* of mental states. He will not accept the said dual character of a single judgment or cognition so that one part of it may be perceptual while the other part is non-perceptual. '*Nṛsiṁhākāra jñāna*' is rejected outright as an imposibility. To conclude our findings, let us repeat that '*alaukika sannikarṣa*' is nothing short of 'mystic' type of contact producing a 'mystic' sort of perception. It is '*alaukika*' because it is a contact or relation which is *not ordinarily discerned* like *saṁyoga* or *samavāya*. Let us also add that in case of such perception, it is impossible for the perceived objects to be "physically" connected with the corresponding sense-organ. Or, to put in other words, the objects lie beyond the scope of, i.e., are not amenable to, the sense-organ through which the perception, in question, is brought about. And in this respect it may be said to differ from the ordinary type of contact like *saṁyoga* etc.

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SECTION XIII: TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS

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THE CYCLIC QUADRILATERAL IN INDIAN MATHEMATICS

Smt. T. A. Sarasvati, Ranchi

The history of the cyclic quadrilateral in India is interesting. Āryabhaṭa's extant work, the *Āryabhaṭīya*, does not treat[1] of the quadrilateral except to say त्रिभुजं च चतुर्भुजं च कर्णभ्यां (The triangle and the quadrilateral are to be constructed with the help of the *karṇa*, the diagonal). But the next mathematician of note, Brahmagupta, deals with the quadrilateral in detail. The theorem now known as Brahmagupta's Theorem, expressing the length of the diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral in terms of its sides, has been responsible for a lot of controversy and noise amongst modern students of Indian Mathematics. A similar confusion perhaps existed amongst a section of Indian Mathematicians too in Bhāskara's time. The verse embodying the theorem runs:[2]

कर्णाश्रितभुजघातैक्यमुभयथान्योन्यभाजितं गुणयेत् ।
योगेन भुजप्रतिभुजवधयो कर्णौ पदे विषमे ॥

"The sums of the products of the two sides respectively touching the ends of the diagonals should be divided by each other and multiplied by the sum of the products of the opposite sides. The square roots of the products are the diagonals in a *viṣama* quadrilateral".

Similarly XII. 21 gives the expressions for the gross and exact areas of triangles and quadrilaterals.

A=(gross)=product of the sum of the opposite sides and A (exact)=$\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$. Where is the semi-perimeter and a, b, c, d, are the sides the quadrilateral. (In the case of a triangle one of the four sides is zero). The latter formula again which holds for cyclic quadrilaterals only does not specifically

1. *Āryabhaṭīya, Gaṇitapāda*, V. 13
2. *Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta*, Ch. XII, V. 28.

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mention this limitation. But the context leaves no doubt that cyclic quadrilaterals are meant here as on other occasions of speaking about quadrilaterals. In fact Brahmagupta does not take non-cyclic figures into consideration at all, as a brief survey of the Kṣetraganita section will convince anybody. Thus V. 22 applies to triangles. V. 23 is

अविषमचतुरस्रभुजप्रतिभुजवधयोर्युतेः पदं कर्णः ।
कर्णकृतिर्भूमुखयुति दलवर्गोना पदं लम्बः ॥

"In quadrilaterals other than *viṣama* (non-equilateral) the diagonal=the square root of the sum of the products of the opposite sides, and altitude=the square root of the square of the diagonal diminished by the square of half the sum of the base and top". This is true of squares, rectangles and isosceles trapezia - all inscribable in circles, but not of parallelograms and rhombi.

V. 24 formulates the theorem of the square on the hypotenuse as applicable for the calculation of the two sides and diagonal or hypotenuse of a rectangle or a right triangle, when the other two elements are known. V. 25 which teaches how to calculate the sections into which the point of intersection of the diagonals (or of the diagonal and altitude) divide the diagonal is perhaps the only rule in Brahmagupta which applies to the general qnadrilateral.

The next verse

अविषमपार्श्वभुजगुणः कर्णो द्विगुणावलम्बकविभक्तः ।
हृदयं विषमस्य भुजप्रतिभुजकृतियोगमूलार्धम् ॥

as it stands, does not yield satisfactory sense. Pandit Sudhākara Dvivedi in his annotated edition of the Brahma-siddhānta commenting on this verse, says: "यत्र भुजप्रतिभुजयोरर्थात् संमुखभुजयोरुपरि चापयोगः परिध्यर्धसमः तत्रैव आचार्यमते व्यासदलज्ञानं भवति".
But it seems highly unlikely that a mathematician like Brahmagupta knowing, as he does, the correct formulae for the circumradius of the isosceles trapezium and the triangle, should give an expression for the circum-radius of the quadrilateral which is applicable only to a very special and rather unusual case. Perhaps it is better to wait for more light from other original

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sources or other manuscripts of *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhāta* before we make bold to interpret the latter part of the verse. V. 27 gives the same formula for the triangle. The next verse, as we have already seen, embodies the theorem about the diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral. The latitudes of a quadrilateral can be calculated by considering the triangles formed by the diagonals with the sides of the quadrilateral (Ch. XII. 29). The next verse restricts the type of the quadrilateral still further. If the diagonal is considered as the base of the triangle formed by the diagonal and two sides, the *ābādhas* (the projections of the sides on the base) will be the upper and lower parts of the other diagonal, according to Brahmagupta. This is possible only when the diagonals cut at right angles. So also, explaining the method for getting a quadrilateral with rational sides in V. 38, Brahmagupta provides only for quadrilaterals whose diagonals cut at right angles. "The sides of the *jātyas* (right-angled triangles of reference) reciprocally multiplied by their hypotenuses, form the four sides of a *viṣama* quadrilateral. The greatest is the base, the least the face and the remaining two the flanks".

This method of getting a rational quadrilateral is reproduced by Mahāvīra and Bhāskara.

From this survey it is clear that Brahmagupta treats of the cyclic quadrilateral and the cyclic quadrilateral with mutually perpendicular diagonals, not the general quadrilateral. This fact was perhaps realised vaguely by Śridhara and Mahāvīra, but Bhāskara II seems to have missed the significance of Brahmagupta's formulae completely. He gives the formulae $A = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)}\sqrt{(s-c)(s-d)}$ as the *asphuṭaphala*[3] (the gross area of a quadrilateral). He also finds fault with Brahmagupta's theorem for the diagonals in rather strong language. But one may point out here that Bhāskara is not the first to do so. Āryabhaṭa II (10th century), in his treatment of mensuration, omits both these formulae and condemns attempts at finding the altitudes and areas of quadrilateral without the diagonals being known in almost identical terms.[4]

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3. *Līlāvatī* Part II, Anandasrama Granthavali No. 107, V. 169.

4. *Mahāsiddhānta* edited by S. Dvivedi, Ch. XII. V. 70.

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कर्णज्ञानेन विना चतुरस्रे लम्बकं फलं यद्वा ।
वक्तुं वांछति गणकः योऽन्यो मूर्खः पिशाचो वा ॥

Compare this with Bhāskara's स पृच्छकः पिशाचो वा वक्ता वा नितरां ततः । and Bhāskara loses the credit of being the first to criticise Brahmagupta openly. Śrīpati like Brahmagupta might have known the limitation, but took it for granted without caring to specify it.

Śrīdhara (8th century) gives the formula $A=\sqrt{(s-a)\ (s-b)\ (s-c)\ (s-d)}$ for the area of a quadrilateral without leaving us any satisfactory clue to know whether he realized the limitation in its applicability. The expression for the area of a trapezium is also given as the formula for the area of the general quadrilateral.

चतुरस्रेष्वन्येषु च लम्बगुणं कुमुखयोगार्धम् ।

As examples under this *sūtra*, three trapezia (*Viṣama*, with unequal sides; *dvisama*, isosceles; and *trisama* with three sides equal) are given. Hence it is clear that Śrīdhara means the trapezium, and not the quadrilateral here. Possibly then, in V. 43 also, the cyclic quadrilateral is meant. The example under V. 43 is with sides, 39, 25, 52 60 the same as those given by Pṛthūdakasvāmin commenting on Brahmagupta.

Mahāvīra, the Jaina Mathematician of the 9th century gives $\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ as the exact area of a quadrilateral

भुजयुत्यर्धचतुष्कात् भुजहीनाद् घातितात् पदं सूक्ष्मम् ।
अथवा मुखतलयुतिदलमवलम्बगुणं न विषमचतुरस्रे ॥
Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha, Ch. VII. V. 50.

"From half the sum of the sides taken four times, diminished respectively by the sides and multiplied together we get the exact area as the square root of the final product. Half the sum of the face and the base multiplied by the altitude (gives the area), but not in a *viṣama* quadrilateral". Unlike Śrīdhara Mahāvīra notes the limitation in the applicability of the second formula, which makes it conceivable that he was not aware of the restriction in the first formula. (Here it is noteworthy that the examples appended to this sūtra mention triangles only not quadrilaterals). Brahmagupta's formula for the diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral is contained in V. 54.

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क्षितिदत्तविपरीतभुजौ मुखगुणभुजसंश्रितौ गुणच्छेदौ ।
छेदगुणौ प्रतिभुजयोः संवर्गयुतेः पदं कर्णौ ॥

"The flanks multiplied by the base and respectively combined with the opposite flank sides multiplied by the top side are the multiplier and divisor and the divisor and multiplier (respectively) of the sum of the products of the opposite sides. The roots of the two quantities so obtained will be the diagonals". Here too the stanza does not make it clear that it refers to cyclic quadrilaterals only. The last example occurring under this sūtra and intended to cover the case of the *viṣama* quadrilateral has 195, 260, 125, and 300 for the four sides, i.e. the traditional 60, 52, 39, and 25 multiplied by 5. V. $103\frac{1}{2}$ and $105\frac{1}{2}$-$107\frac{1}{2}$ deal with the construction of a quadrilateral with rational sides. The method and the expressions for the sides and diagonals are in essential points, the same as those given by Brahmagupta. The area of such quadrilaterals is half the product of the diagonals, since the diagonals cut at right angles.

The value of the contributions to the study of inscribed quadrilaterals made by Brahmagupta has been acclaimed by historians of mathematics like Cajori and D. E. Smith and even by Cantor and G. R. Kaye; but that the torch lighted in the period about and prior to the time of Brahmagupta had been kept burning and even made more brilliant in one school in India itself (though not in the school to which Bhāskara belonged) is realised by few. In this school Brahmagupta's results are not merely correctly understood and appraised, but geometrical proofs are also given thereto. As for the remarkable developments in series mathematics, the credit for this goes to the Āryabhaṭa School.

At present it is difficult to know definitely whether Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Gaṇita-kaumudī* (14th century) belonged to this school. His knowledge of the geometry of the quadrilateral is considerably more advanced than that of Bhāskara. He gives the formula $A=\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ for the area of a quadrilateral with the remark क्वचिद् स्फुटं भवीत, but omits to specify when the formula fails, or rather when the formula is applicable. Like Bhāskara, Nārāyaṇa protests that the area of a quadrilateral with given sides remains indefinite, unless one of the diagonals also is

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given. Then in sūtra 27 he gives Brahmagupta's theorem for the diagonols of a cyclic quadrilateral. The sūtra by itself does not specify the nature of the quadrilateral; but in the immediately succeding verses Nārāyaṇa gives a formula for the area of a quadrilateral involving its circumradius, thus justifying the assumption that a cyclic quadrilateral was meant.

Nārāyaṇa displays the knowledge of another important property of a cyclic quadrilateral. According to him

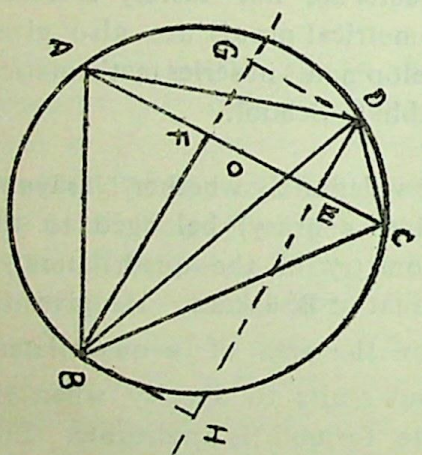
सर्वचतुर्बाहूनां मुखस्य परिवर्तने यदा विहिते ।
कर्णस्तदा तृतीयः पर इति कर्णत्रयं भवति ॥

i. e. when the top side and a flank side in a four-sided figure are interchanged, we get a third diagonal called '*para*'. In a square and a trapezium with three sides equal, these three diagonals are equal; in an isosceles trapezium two diagonals are equal, but the third is not.

कर्णत्रयं समं स्यात् विषमे च चतुर्भुजे नियतम् ।

(The above half verse dealing with the diagonals of a *viṣama* quadrilateral seems to be corrupt; the discovery of other manuscripts may help to fix the reading).

The product of the three diagonals divided by twice the circum-diameter gives the area of the inscribed quadrilateral[5]



For, the area of the quadrilateral A B C D

$$= \triangle ACD + \triangle ACB$$

$$= \frac{AC.\ AD.\ CD}{4R} + \frac{AC.BC.AB}{4R}$$

(Where R is the circum-radius)

$$= AC\ (BC'.\ AD + DC'.\ AB)$$

5. G. K. V. 52.

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(Where C is the vertex got by interchanging the sides DC & BC) Now by Ptolemy's theorem, the sum of the products of the opposites of a cyclic quadrilateral = the product of its diagonals.

$$\therefore \quad BC' . AD + DC' . 'AB = AC' . BD$$

$$\therefore \quad \text{Quadrilateral } ABCD = \frac{AC . AC' . BD}{4R}$$

$$= \frac{AC . AC' \cdot BD}{2D}$$

A knowledge of Ptolemy's theorem is neccssary for arriving at this result. Pṛthūdakasvāmin, Brahmagupta's commentator, was probably the first to prove the theorem in India. [6]

For constructing the rational inscribed quadrilateral with diagonals at the right angles, Nārāyaṇa gives the same rule as do Brahmagupta, Mahāvīra and Bhāskara.

The mathematicians of the Āryabhaṭa school understood the scope and applicability of Brahmagupta's results clearly. Parameśvara of the 15th century, while commenting on the verse

सर्वदोर्युतिदलं चतुस्थित बाहुभिर्विरहितं च तद्घात्।
मूलमस्फुटफलं चतुर्भुजे स्पष्टमेवमुदितं त्रिबाहुके ॥ (V. 169)

in the Līlāvatī, says

एवमानीतं फलं कदाचित् स्फुटं भवति कदाचिदस्फुटं भवति, यत्र कोणस्यान्तः प्रवेशः इतरकोणद्वयस्य बाह्यप्रवेशश्च युगपद् भवति तत्र फलमस्फुटं अन्यत्र स्फुटमित्यर्थः।

"The areas calculated thus is sometimes exact but sometimes not; where an angle enters in, and the other two angles project out at the same time, the area will be approximate and in other cases exact". What does he mean here? Is it that the formula does not give the correct area if the quadrilateral has a reflex angle? Again commenting on Brahmagupta's verse

कर्णाश्रितभुजघातैक्यमुभयथा.....

quoted by Bhāskara, Parameśvara says

6. G. R. Kaye—Indian Mathematics (1915) p.22.

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यस्मिन् चतुर्भुजे एवं प्रकल्पितं कर्णद्वयं भवति तत्र सर्वदोर्युतिदलमित्यादिना आनीतं क्षेत्रफलं च स्फुटं भवति इति, एतत्क्षेत्रफलान्न्यूनान्येव कर्णान्तरकृत क्षेत्रफलानि भवन्ति। "in a quadrilateral, the diagonals of which are calculated with the help of this formula, the area obtained by applying the formula $A = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ will be the exact area. The areas of quadrilaterals constructed with other diagonals will all be less than this"

The Līlāvatī verse

अभीष्टजात्यद्वयबाहुकोट्यः परस्परं कर्णहता भुजा इति।
चतुर्भुजं यद्विषमं प्रकल्पितं श्रुती तु तत्र त्रिभुजद्वयात्ततः॥
बाह्योर्वधः कोटिवधेन युक् स्यादेका श्रुतिः कोटिभुजावधैक्यं।
अन्या लघौ सत्यपि सधनेऽस्मिन् पूर्वे कृतं यद् गुरु तन्न विद्मः।
(V. 189-190)

professing to give an easier method for finding the diagonals (than Brahmagupta's कर्णाश्रितभुजघातैक्यं...) has been criticised by Gaṇeśa[7] as well as by modern critics[8] as involving the difficult job of selecting two suitable *jātyas* as a preliminary to calculating the diagonals. Parameśvara's explanation of the verse answers this criticism

एतदुक्तं भवति विषमचतुर्भुजस्य चतुर्भिर्भुजैः जात्यद्वयमुत्पाद्य तद्वशात् अभीष्ट-जात्ययेत्यादिना कर्णत्रयं साध्यमिति। तत्प्रकारस्तु अधिकं भुजं अल्पं भुजं च इष्टराशिना विभजेत् तत्र लब्धे भुजाकोटी भवतः, ताभ्यां कर्णश्च साध्यः। एवमेकं जात्यक्षेत्रमुत्पन्नं। पुनरस्य कर्णेन चतुर्भुजस्य इतरौ भुजौ विभजेत्। तत्र लब्धे अन्यजात्यस्य भुजाकोटी भवतः.....एव जात्यद्वन्द्वं कृत्वा कर्णा चतुर्भुजे साध्या इति। एवं सिद्धे क्षेत्रे सर्व-दोर्युतिदलमिति फलं च संवदति.....अत्र कोणचतुष्टयस्पृग् वृत्तं च भवति।

'This is what is said: constructing two *jātyas* with the four sides of the quadrilateral one should calculate the three diagonals with their help. The procedure is this. The longest and least sides should be divided by a chosen number. The quotients will be the base and the perpendicular side. Form them the hypotenuse is to be calculated. Thus one *jātya* is produced. By its hypotenuse the other two sides of the quadrilateral should be

7. *Līlāvatī*. Pt. 2, p. 183

8. H. C. Colebrooke's translation of the *Līlāvatī* with notes-H. C. Bannerji under V. 190.

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divided. The quotients will be the base and the perpendicular side of the other *jātya*. Thus procuring two *jātyas* one has to calculate the diagonals of the quadrilateral. In the figure obtained in this way the area got by applying the rule सर्वदोर्युति···agrees with the real area. In this case there will be a circle passing through the four vertices".

If this is really what Bhāskara meant, he deserves credit. For if Brahmagupta's rule (which Bhāskara did not understand) enables us to calculate the diagonals of any given cyclic quadrilateral, Bhāskara's makes it possible to calculate the diagonal lengths which will make four given unequal sides enclose the largest area, or to construct a cyclic quadrilateral with mutually perpendicular diagonals with sides equal to the given sides. Parameśvara or his predecehsors in the school have, in addition, investigated the properties of such a quadrilateral, which are mainly

1. The given sides with the diagonals calculated as above enclose the largest area.

2. Brahmagupta's formula $A = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ is strictly applicable to such quadrilaterals.

3. A circle can be drawn through the four vertices of such a quadrilateral.

Parameśvara gives a formula for the circumradius of such a quadrilateral after the *Līlāvatī* verse[9] लम्बहृतोनिजसन्धि दोष्णां द्वयोर्द्वयोर्घातयुतीनां तिसृणां वधे

एकैकोनेतरैक्यचतुष्केण विभाजिते or चतुष्कवधभाजिते ।
लब्धमूलेन यद्वृत्तं विष्कम्भार्धेन निर्मितं
सर्वं चतुर्भुजक्षेत्रं तस्मिन्नेवावतिष्ठते ॥

"The three sums of the product of the sides taken two at a time are to be multiplied together and divided by the product of the sums of the sides taken three at a time and diminished by the fourth. If a circle is drawn with the square root of this quantity as radius, the whole quadrilateral will be situated inside it". i. e. the radius

9. *Līlāvatī*. V. 196.

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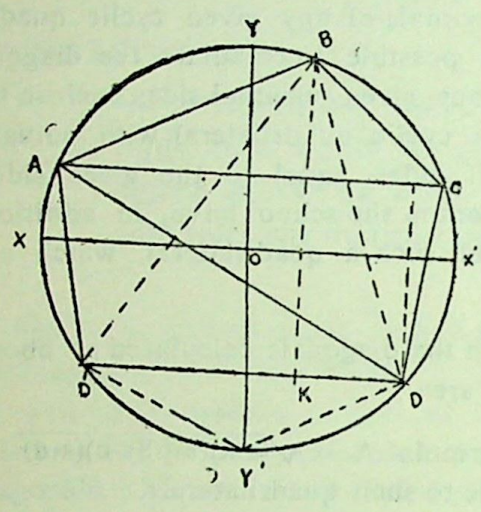
$$= \sqrt{\frac{(ab+cd)(ac+bd)(ad+bc)}{(a+b+c-d)(b+c+d-a)(d+a+b-c)(c+d+a-b)}}$$

if a, b, c, d are the sides. The *Kriyākramakarī*, an anonymous but elaborate commentary on the *Līlāvatī*, belonging to the same school, introduces the same verse with the same prelude[10]. अथ चतुष्कोणस्पृशः परिधेः व्यासार्द्धकल्पनाय करणसूत्रम् । and gives the rationale (*upapatti*) too.



Draw a circle and two mutually perpendicular diameters XOX' and YOY'. With AC parallel to XOX' as *iṣṭakarṇa* (the chosen diagonal) inscribe a quadrilateral ABCD. Join the second diagonal BD. Then if AD and CD are interchanged still AC will be a diagonal, but we get a third diagonal (*bhāvikarṇa*) different from BD (called *itarakarṇa*). Let D' be the new position of D. Then DY' = D'Y' and arc DD' = arc CD ∽ arc AD. Now if BK is drawn perpendicular to DD',

$$BK = \frac{BD.\,BD'}{2R,} \quad \text{or} \quad 2R = \frac{BD.\,BD'}{BK}$$

Again BK will be the sum of the altitudes of the triangles BAC and DAC on AC as base.

$$\therefore \frac{AC.\,BK}{2} = A, \text{ the area of the quadrilateral.}$$

$$\therefore 2R = \frac{BD.\,BD'}{BK} = \frac{BD.\,BD'.\,AC}{2A}$$

$$R = \frac{BD.\,BD'.\,AC}{4A}$$

10. *Kriyākramakarī* p. 639.

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$$= \frac{BD.\ BD'.\ AC}{4\sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}}$$

$$\text{or} \quad R^2 = \frac{BD^2.\ BD^2.\ AC^2}{16\,(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$$

$$= \frac{BD^2.\ BD'^2.\ AC^2}{(a+b+c-d)\,(b+c+d-a)\,(c+d+a-b)\,(d+a+b-c)}$$

$$\text{But} \quad BD^2 = \frac{(bc+ad)\,(ac+bd)}{ab+cd} \quad \text{(by Brahmagupta's theorem)}$$

$$AC^2 = \frac{(ab+cd)\,(ac+bd)}{bc+ad}$$

$$BD'^2 = \frac{(cd+ab)\,(ad+bc)}{ac+bd}$$

$$\therefore\ BD^2.\ BD'^2.\ AC^2 = (ab+cd)\,(ac+bd)\,(bc+ad)$$

$$\text{or} \quad R^2 = \frac{(ab+cd)\,(ac+bd)\,(bc+ad)}{(a+b+c-d)\,(b+c+d-a)\,(c+d+a-b)\,(d+a+b)}$$

The *Kriyākramakarī*, also says that the diagonals calculated according to Brahmagupta's rule will be the *niyata karṇa*, the determinate diagonals when the quadrilateral is cyclic.

The *Yuktibhāṣā*, a valuable exposition in Malayāḷam of the mathematical and astronomical knowledge of the time, deals with the cyclic quadrilateral in detail, using it to arrive at trignometrical results and proving Brahmagupta's results with the help of these. The lemmas first taken up for proof are[11]

(i) $\text{Sin}^2 A - \text{Sin}^2 B = \text{Sin}\,(A+B).\ \text{Sin}\,(A-B)$

(ii) $\text{Sin}\,A - \text{Sin}\,B = \text{Sin}^2 \frac{A+B}{2} - \text{Sin}^2 \frac{A-B}{2}$

11. *Yuktibhāṣā* Pt. 1. pp. 224-227. These proofs have been rendered.

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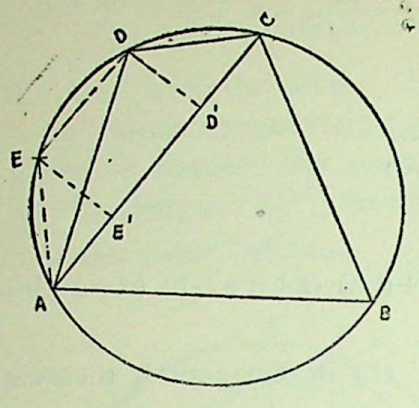

Let ABCD be a cyclic quadrilateral in which AD ⩾ DC. Along the arc AD set off AE = CD. Join AE, ED and drop the perpendiculars EE', DD' on AC. Then, arc ED = arc AD—arc DC, and since AE = CD, ABCD is an isoceles trapezium. ∴ ED = E'D' and AE' = CD' and AD' = CE'. Now in the triangle DAC, E'D' = the difference between the projections of the sides on the base = chord of arc (AD - DC). AC = the sum of the projections = chord of arc (AD + DC). Hence $AD^2 - DC^2 = AD'^2 - D'C^2 = (AD' + D'C)(AD' - D'C) =$ AC + D'E'

= chord (AD + DC) × chord (AD - DC)

which as the editors of the *Yuktibhāṣā* point out, is equivalent to $\text{Sin}^2A - \text{Sin}^2B = \text{Sin}(A+B).\ \text{Sin}(A-B)$ I

Also arc AC + arc DE = arc AD + arc CD + arc AD - arc CD
= 2 arc AD

arc AC - arc DE = arc AD + arc CD — arc AD + arc CD = 2 arc CD. If we put arc AC = A and arc DE = B. arc AD = $\frac{A+B}{2}$ and arc CD = $\frac{A-B}{2}$

Substituting these values in the above result

$$\text{Sin}^2\frac{A+B}{2} - \text{Sin}^2\frac{A-B}{2} = \sin A.\ \text{Sin}\ B. \text{ ... ...} \quad \text{II}$$

These results are used to get expressions for the diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral and its area, and incidentally for proving Ptolemy's theorem. [12]

Let ABCD be a cyclic quadrilateral. Let AB ⩾ BC ⩾ AD ⩾ DC. In arc AD, set off AD = arc CD and in arc AB set off AB' = BC. Join the middle points x and X' of the arcs DD' and

12. Ibid. pp. 228-236.

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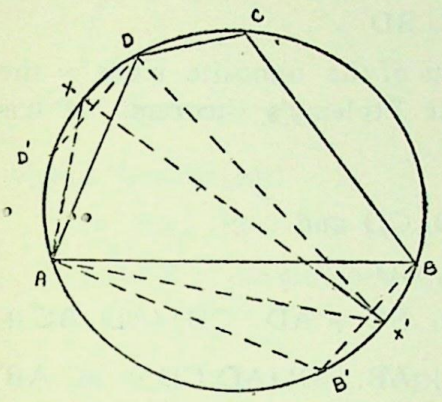
BB'. Then arc XAX' = XD' + D'A + AB' + B'X'
= XD + CD + BC + B'X'
= are XCX'

∴ XX' is a diameter. ∴ arc X' A = arc X' C = arc BC + arc B'X.' Similarly arc XA = arc XC = arc CD + arc DX.



Now ch. AD. ch. CD = $\text{ch}^2 \frac{AD + CD}{2} - \text{ch}^2 \frac{AD - CD}{2}$

$= AX^2 - XD^2$

$AB.BC = \text{ch}^2 \frac{AB + BC}{2} - \text{ch}^2 \frac{AB - BC}{2} = AX'^2 - X'B^2$

∴ $AB.BC + AD.CD = AX'^2 + AX^2 - X'B^2 - XD^2$

But $AX'^2 + AX^2 = XX'^2$ (XAX' is the angle in a semi-circle)

∴ $AB.BC + AD.CD = XX'^2 - XD^2 - X'B^2$

$= X'D^2 - X'B^2 = B'D.BD$ (by I)

Therefore the sum of the sides about the first diagonal = the first diagonal + the third.

In the △ DBB', altitude $DP = \frac{B'D \times BD}{2R}$

But DP is equal to the sum of the altitudes on AC from B and D

∴ The area of the quadrilateral ABCD = △ DAC + △ BAC

$= \frac{AC \times \text{sum of the altitude}}{2}$

$= \frac{AC}{2} . DP$

$= \frac{AC}{2} . \frac{B'D.BD}{2R}$

$= \frac{AC . BD . B'D}{4R}$

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Thus here, Nārāyaṇa's formula for the area of a cyclic quadrilateral is derived and proved incidentally. Now considering the cyclic quadrilateral AB' . CD, AB' . AD + CD. B'C = AC.BD (since BD is the third diagonal with respect to AB' CD).

But AB' = BC and B'C = AB by construction.

$\therefore$ BC. AD + CD. AB = AC. BD

That is, the sum of the products of the opposite sides = the product of the diagonals. This is Ptolemy's theorem. It has been already proved that

B'D. BD = AB. BC + AD. CD and

AC. BD = AD. BC + AB. CD

$\therefore$ BD^2. B'D. AC = (AB. BC + AD. CD) (AD. BC + AB + CD) or

$$BD^2 = \frac{(AD.\ BC + AB.\ CD)\ (AD.CD + BC.AB)}{B'D.\ AC}$$

$$= \frac{(AD.\ BC + AB.CD)\ (AD.CD + BC.AB)}{AD.\ AB + CD.\ BC}$$ (by Ptolemy's theorem)

Hence Brahmagupta's formula.

Next the *Yuktibhāṣā* proceeds to prove the trignometrical proposition[13] Sin (A + B) = Sin A. Cos B + cos A. Sin B.

The statement of this lemma, famous in the Āryabhaṭa School as the जीवे परस्परन्याय is found in many works including the *Tantrasaṃgraha* and it is unanimously attributed to Mādhava of Samgrāma grāma (14th century).

जीवे परस्परनिजेतरमौर्विकाभ्यां अभ्यस्य विस्तृतिदलेन विभज्यमाने । अन्योन्य योगविरहानुगुणे भवेतां.....

"The sine-chords of two arcs reciprocally multiplied by the other (cosine) chord and divided by the radius, when added or subtracted from each other will be the sine-chords of the sum or difference of the arcs."

13. *Yuktibhāṣā* pp. 237 - 249.

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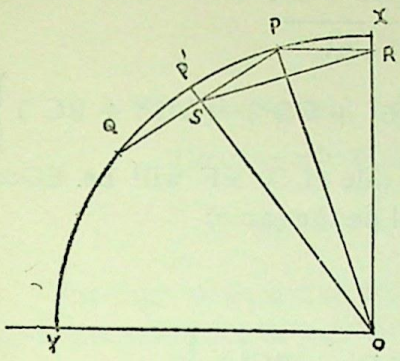


In the quadrant XOY, let arc PX = A, arc PQ = 2B.

Draw PR perpendicular to OX. Join op. Let P' be the middle point of PQ. Join OP' cutting chord PQ in S. Then PR and PS are the *bhujajyas* (sine-chords) of arcs A and B respectively, and OR and OS are the corresponding *Koṭijyas* (cosine chords). Now OSPR is a cyclic quadrilateral.

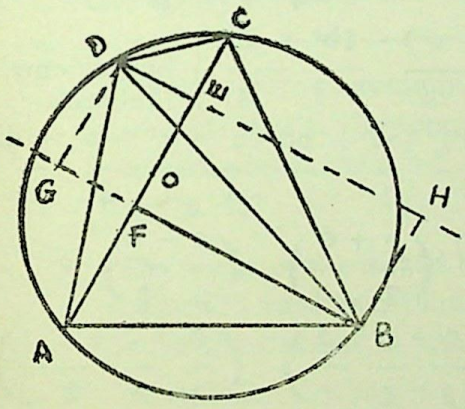
$\therefore$ PR. OS + PS. OR = OP. SR

But SR is the sine-chord of the combined arc XP' i.e. of arc (A + B).

$$\therefore \quad SR = R \sin (A + B) = \frac{PR.\ OS + PS.\ OR}{OP}$$ (Where R is the radius of the circle).

$$= \frac{R \sin A . R \cos B + R \sin B . R \cos A}{R}$$

or sin (A + B) = Sin A. cos B + cos A. Sin B. Lastly the expression for the area of a cyclic quadrilateral in terms of its sides is derived.



Let ABCD be a cyclic quadrilateral. Join the diagonal AC and draw the altitudes DE and BF on it. If DE and BF are produced and DG and BH are drawn perpendicular to them DGBH forms a rectangle with one side = the sum of the altitudes and the other side = the distance between the feet of the altitudes i.e EF. Let O be the middle point of AC. Then in $\triangle$ DAC

EO = $\frac{1}{2}$ (half) the difference between the projections of the sides on AC.

$$= \frac{\frac{1}{2} . CD^2 - AD^2}{AC}$$

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similarly from $\triangle$ BAC, $FO = \frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot AB^2 - BC^2}{AC}$

$$\therefore EF = EO + FO = \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{AC} \left\{ (AB^2 + CD^2) - (AD^2 + BC^2) \right\}$$

(If the altitudes fall on the same side of O, EF will be EO$\sim$ FO ; but still the final expression will be the same)

$$\therefore HD^2 = BD^2 - BH^2$$
$$= BD^2 - EF^2$$
$$= BD^2 - \left\{ \frac{(AB^2 + CD^2) - (AD^2 + BC^2)}{4AC^2} \right\}^2$$

Now the area, A, of the quadrilateral ABCD = $\triangle$ DAC + $\triangle$ BAC = $\frac{1}{2}$ AC $\times$ sum of altitudes = $\frac{1}{2}$ AC . HD

$$\therefore A^2 = \frac{AC^2}{4} \times \left[BD^2 - \left\{ \frac{(a^2 + c^2) - (b^2 + d^2)}{4AC^2} \right\}^2 \right]$$

$$= \frac{AC^2}{4} \times \frac{4AC^2 \cdot BD^2 - \left\{ (a^2 + c^2) - (b^2 + d^2) \right\}^2}{4AC^2}$$

$$= \left(\frac{AC \cdot BD}{2} \right)^2 - \left\{ \frac{(a^2 + c^2) - (b^2 + d^2)}{4} \right\}^2$$

$$= \left(\frac{ac + bd}{2} \right)^2 - \left\{ \frac{(a^2 + c^2)}{4} - \frac{(b^2 + d^2)}{4} \right\}^2$$ by Ptolemy's theorem

$$= \frac{(ac + bd + a^2 + c^2 - b^2 - d^2)}{2} \frac{(ac + bd - a^2 - c^2 + b^2 + d^2)}{2} \frac{}{4} \frac{}{4} \frac{}{4} \frac{}{4}$$

$$= \left(\frac{a + c}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)^2 - \left(\frac{b - d}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)^2 \left(\frac{b + d}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)^2 \left(\frac{a - c}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)^2$$

$$= \left(\frac{a + c}{2} \frac{}{2} + \frac{b - d}{2} \frac{}{2} \right) \left(\frac{a + c}{2} \frac{}{2} - \frac{b + d}{2} \frac{}{2} \right) \left(\frac{b + d}{2} \frac{}{2} + \frac{a - c}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)$$
$$\left(\frac{b + d}{2} \frac{}{2} - \frac{a + c}{2} \frac{}{2} \right)$$

$$= (s - d)(s - b)(s - c)(s - a), \text{ where } S = \frac{a}{2} \frac{}{2} + \frac{b}{2} \frac{}{2} + \frac{c}{2} \frac{}{2} + \frac{d}{2} \frac{}{2}$$

$$\therefore A = \sqrt{(s - a)(s - b)(s - c)(s - d)}$$

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A NOTE ON BALANCES IN ANCIENT INDIA

(From early times to 3rd Century A. D.)

Balram Srivastava, Varanasi

The high antiquity of Indian weight systems naturally indicates the existence of balances. In the Indus Civilization weighing scale was an important mechanism of trade.[1] 'The few examples of scales used with the weights are of very ordinary pattern and consist of a bronze bar with suspended copper pans'[2]. Such balances were used for weighing light or precious commodities. For heavy weight much larger and stronger beams and pans were used. Such beams and pans were probably made of wood[3] and probably the weights[4] were suspended with ropes as is done even today while weighing chaff or wood.

The ancient Indian name for balances was *tulā*[5]. Unfortunately we do not find the mention of this word in the Rig Vedic hymns. Therefore we are not sure whether balances were in common use during the early Vedic age. The word *tulā* occurs for the first time in the *Vājsaneyi Saṁhitā*.[6] Here the reference to *Hiraṇyākāra-tulā* suggests that probably the use of balances was limited for

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1. Balances were so common in day to day exchange that the children in the Harappan age were apt to make their earthen play models. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 103.
2. The traces of the thread by which one of the pans were supported have been found. ibid. p. 103. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Indus Civilization* p. 103.
3. *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 103.
4. In the Indus Civilization some weights were to be lifted by rope or metal rings. *Indus Civilization*. p. 61.
5. Monier William's *Sanskrit English Dictionary* p.739. *Pali English Dictionary* (PTS) p. 139.
6. *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. XXX. 17.

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light weights and used by goldsmiths only. But by the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] the use of balances was fully adopted in day to day life and people had so much reliance upon the propriety and correctness of the balances that they recognised it as a positive factor of every day life. They adopted it as part of the machinery of justice and included it in trials by ordeals (*Divyapramāṇa*). According to Vasiṣṭha[8] balances were the objects necessary for household. But in the time of Āpastamba the practice of falsifying balances was a social crime. According to him the person using false balances (*Kūṭatulā*)was to be barred from the *Śrāddha ceremonies*.[9] Lord Buddha regarded cheating through the false balance and deriving profit thereby as a kind of *Mithyā Ājīva*.[10] In the Milinda Pañha, Nāgasena has forbidden the gift of false balances[11]. By the time of Kauṭilya it was thought necessary for the Government to examine the balances of the traders periodically i.e. every four months.[12] Same is the injunction of Manu, but he opines that the balances should be checked and examined every six months.[13] Yājñavalkya seems more strict on this issue and he prescribes heavy punishment to those who make (*Kūṭakṛt*) and use (*Vyavahartā*) false balances.[14]

Kauṭilya enumerates as many as sixteen types of balances. Of these there were ten varieties of light balances with double scale-pans.[15] 'Beginning with a lever of six *aṅgulas* in the length and one *pala* in the weight of its metallic mass there were ten

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7. *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa*. XI. 2-7-33.
8. *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* XIX. 23.
9. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* II. 6. 19.
10. *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Vol. I p. 5.
11. *Milindapañha* (S. B. E.) XXXVI. Vol. II. p. 121.
12. चतुर्नासिकं प्रातिवेधनिकं कारयेत्। *Arthaśāstra* II. 19. 51.
13. तुलामानं प्रतिमानं सर्वं च स्यात्सुलक्षितम्
षट्सु षट्सु च मासेषु पुनरेव परीक्षयेत्॥ *Manusmṛti* VIII. 403.
14. तुलाशासनमानानां कूटकृन्नाणकस्य च
एभिश्च व्यवहर्ता यः स दाप्यो दममुत्तमम्॥ *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* II. 246.
15. *Arthaśāstra* II. 19. 12.

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types of balances with levers successively increasing by one *pala*[16] in the weight of their metallic mass and by eight *aṅgulas* in their length'.[17] According to this description the length and the weight of the balances can be tabulated as follows :—

Type No.	*Length*	*Weight in metallic mass*
1.	6 *Aṅgulas*	1 *Pala*
2.	14 ,,	2 ,,
3.	22 ,,	3 ,,
4.	30 ,,	4 ,,
5.	38 ,,	5 ,,
6.	46 ,,	6 ,,
7.	54 ,,	7 ,,
8.	62 ,,	8 ,,
9.	70 ,,	9 ,,
10.	78 ,,	10 ,,

These balances were in all probability, used for weighing different kinds of commodities.

The heavy balances were of six types. Of these "a balance was called *Samavṛtta-tulā* with its lever 72 *aṅgulas* long and weighing 53 *palas* in its metallic mass. Kauṭilya describes the making of these types of balances as follows :—

'A scale pan of 5 *palas* in the weight of its metallic mass being attached to its edge, the horizontal position of the lever (*Samakaraṇa*). When weighing a *Karṣa* shall be marked (on the post of the lever where held by a thread it stands horizontal). To the left of that mark, symbols such as 1 *pala*, 12, 15 and 20 *palas* shall be marked. After that each place of tens up to 100 shall be marked. In the place of *Akṣa*, the sign of *Nandi* shall be made'.[18]

Second type of heavy balance was called *Parimāṇi*, with a lever of 16 *aṅgulas* and 106 *palas* of weight in metallic mass. On

16. In Kauṭilyan weight system: 4 *Karṣa* or 320 *Guñja* or *Raktika* constituted 1 *Pala*. Thus 1 *Pala* constituted 6 *Tola* 4 *māṣa*. *Arthaśāstra*. II. 19-3-4.

17. *Arthaśāstra*. II. 19. 12.

18. *Arthaśāstra* II. 19. 13-17.

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its lever marks such as 20, 50 and 100 and above[19] were marked. The respective weights of public balance (*Vyāvahārika*), servant's balance (*bhājanī*) and harem balance (*Antaḥpurabhājanī*) were 95, 90 and 80 *palas*[20] respectively.

Unfortunately, from details given in the text we do not get any idea of their respective use and construction.

The heaviest type of balance was made of wood (*Kāṣṭha*) with a lever of 8 hands long. The lever had measuring marks and it was erected and fixed on a 'pedestal like peacock'. Counterpoise weights were used in weighing the heavy commodities.[21]

A weighing house is referred to in the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka*. From this *Jātaka* we guess that weights were put gradually and one by one on the weighing scale and when the weights were put, the end of the balance swang up[22]. From Yājñavalkya we know that it was the practice to draw a line on the wall of the weighing house to ascertain the accuracy of the weighments. The weighing was complete and correct when the weights and the things to be weighed were parallel to the line drawn on the wall of weighing house. He also refers to an expert in weighing as *Tulādhāraṇavid*.[23]

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19. *ibid.* II. 19. 18. 19

20. *ibid.* II. 19. 23.

21. काष्ठतुला अष्टहस्ता पदवती प्रतिमानवती मयूरपदाधिष्ठिता ।
ibid. II. 19. 28.

22. *Jātaka* Vol. VI. p. 19.

23. The above conclusion is based on the suggestion of the following verse :—
तुलाधारणविद्वद्भिरभियुक्तस्तुलाश्रितः ।
प्रतिमानसमीभूतो रेखां कृत्वाऽवतारितः ॥
Yājñavalkya Smṛti II. 100.

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THE TENTH PLANET — *MĀNDI* alias *GULIKA*

K. Damodara Nambiar, Poona

Among the sub-planets, *Māndi* is considered the most powerful one.

Māndi causes the death of a person, when he is placed in the eighth house in a horoscope, although there may be other good influences.[1] He is a planet responsible for evil.[2] His evil effects will be greater when he is connected with his father Saturn.[3]

Māndi's presence converts even the master of the house into an evil-doer. For example, if the master of the house occupied by *Gulika* is in the seventh, the wife of the person will be destroyed.[4]

Besides *Māndi* plays an important part in one's birth and death. In accordance with the position of *Māndi*, one can decide

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1. 'मान्दिर्मृतौ मृतिकरोऽपि गुणेषु सत्सु' इति।
Jātakādeśa (Putumana Somayājī — 15th c. A. D.)
ch. V, st. 14.

2. 'गुलिको नाम बलिष्ठः कश्चित्पापः' इति।
Varadīpikā (Purayannūr Nambūtiri— 19th c. A. D.) the Commentary of *Muhūrtapadavī* (Māttūr Nambūtirippād — 16th c. A. D.)

3. सर्वेषामपि पापानां मान्दिर्दोषप्रदोऽधिकम्।
सोऽतिदोषकरो योगदृग्वर्गवशतश्शनेः॥
Jātakādeśa — ch. V, st. 15.

4. पापः पापेक्षितो वा यदि बलरहितः पापवर्गस्थितो वा
पुत्रस्थानाधिपो वा यदि निधनपतिमन्दिराशीश्वरो वा।
नीचस्थश्चामरेड्यो मधुपगतसितः पापसंयुक्तशुक्रः
कुर्युस्ते दारनाशं मदनमुपगताः सौम्ययोगेक्षणोनाः॥
Jātakādeśa — ch. XIII, st. 13.

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the time of birth of a person as described in the *Bṛhajjātaka* of the great astronomer-astrologer Varāhamihira[5].

Similarly, the time of death of a person is explained in the *Phaladīpikā* of Mantreśvara Mahākavi, *Jātakādeśa* etc. as per the position of Gulika[6].

Especially, in the field of *Praśna*, an important part of *Horā-skandha*, *Māndī's* importance cannot be underestimated. *Praśna* is a special method of predicting one's present activites and position, based on the time and *lakṣaṇas* according to the planetary position at the moment when a person approaches an astrologer.

In *sarpabādhānirūpaṇa Māndi* is very helpful in finding out the quality of serpents[7].

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5. 'तत्कालमिन्दुसहितो द्विरसांशको य' इत्यादि—

अत्र साम्प्रदायिकः सप्तदशोऽतिरहस्यभूतो, योजनप्रकारोऽस्ति । 'तत्काल इन्दुसहितो द्विरसांशक' इत्यत्र तत्कालेन्दुः प्रश्नकालचन्द्रः द्विरस-शब्देन गुलिको गृह्यते । तत्कालद्विरसनः तत्कालगुलिक इत्यर्थः । तत्काले-न्दोस्तत्कालगुलिकस्य च अंशको य इत्युक्त्या नवांशद्वादशांश इत्युक्तं भवति । गुलिकस्य शकोयांशकाः गुलिकनवांशराशेर्विलोमेन गण्याः । चन्द्रस्य शको-यांशकाः अनुलोमेन गण्याः । तत्र गणनप्रकारे तयोर्योगो वा त्रिकोणबन्धो वा यत्र राशौ भवति तद्राशिसहिते शशाङ्के प्रसवं वदन्ति इति सम्बन्धः ।

Vivaraṇa (Rudra—16th c. A. D.) the commentary of *Bṛhajjātaka* (Varāhamira 6th c. A. D.), ch. IV, st. 21.

6. रन्ध्रेशो गुलिको मन्दः खरन्ध्रेक्काणपोऽपि वा ।
यत्र तिष्ठति तद्भांशत्रिकोणे रविजे मृतिः ॥
Phaladīpikā (Mantreśvara Mahākavi) ch. XVII, st. 2.

विलग्नमान्दिस्फुटयोगभांशं निर्याणमासं प्रवदन्ति तज्ज्ञाः ।
निर्याणचन्द्रो गुलिकेन्दुयोगो लग्नं विलग्नार्किसुतेन्दुयोगम् ॥
Phaladīpikā—ch. VII, st. 3.

यो राशिर्गुलिकोपेतस्तत्त्रिकोणं गते शनौ ।
मरणं निशिजातानां दिनजानां तदस्तगे ॥
Jātakādeśa—ch. VII, st. 3.

7. जीवस्सन् बाधकेशो व्ययरिपुमृतिगो यद्यहेः केन्द्रसंस्थः सर्पाणामुत्तमानां यदि स सुरगुरुर्मान्दिकेन्द्रेऽधमानाम् । पीडा वाच्याथ बाधाभवनमुपगते चोरगे

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Similary, trouble from the soul of a dead person can be ascertained only through the position of *Māndi*[8]. Furthermore, this planet helps to trace the caste of the soul of the dead person, as for instance, Brāhmaṇa etc[9]. The cases of poisoning[10], black magic[11] etc. are known from the position of Māndi. Even in other matters, this planet has its importance.

The result of *Gulika* in the twelve Bhāvas (houses) is given in the *Bṛhatparāśara Horāśāstra*, Khaṇḍa I—chapter VI.

गुलिकफलम् :—

रोगार्त्तः सततं कामी पापात्माधिगतः शठः ।
मूर्त्तिस्थे गुलिके मन्दे[12] खलभावोऽतिदुःखितः ॥ ६१ ॥

सर्पबाधा तेषां हीनोत्तमत्वं शशिदिनकरयोर्योगवीक्षादिभिः स्यात् ॥
Praśnamārga (Panakkāṭṭu or Eṭakkāṭu Nambūtiri—17th c. A. D.) Part I, ch. XV, st. 31.

8. बाधा प्रेतोद्भवा स्यात्स्थितवति गुलिके बाधकेऽनिष्टभे वा
तत्रारक्षांशसंस्थो यदि कुजसहितो मान्दिरारेक्षितो वा ।
प्रेतः स्यादग्निशस्त्रप्रभृतिकृतमृतिर्मन्दसम्बन्ध एवं
मान्देश्चेत्प्रेत एष स्वविरहिततया दुःखितः सन् परेतः ॥
Praśnamārga—Part I, ch. XV, st. 43.

9. प्रेतस्य जातिजिज्ञासा जायेत यदि कुत्रचित् ।
मान्यधिष्ठितराश्यंशजातिं तत्र विनिर्दिशेत् ॥
Praśnamārga—Part I, ch. XV, st. 48.

10. मित्रे पुत्रे सप्तमे वाष्टमे वा मान्दौ वाहौ तिष्ठति क्ष्वेलभुक्तिः ।
तत्रस्थे चारीश्वरेऽरिप्रयुक्ता विज्ञातव्या स्यान्न चेद्दैवयोगात् ॥
Praśnamārga—Part I, ch. XV, st. 129.

11. सुखभावगते केतौ कर्मलग्नगतेऽथवा ।
केन्द्रे मान्दिसमायुक्ते क्षुद्रं रिपुकृतं वदेत् ॥
उदयारूढचन्द्राणां गुलिके केन्द्रसंस्थिते ।
मन्दयुक्तेऽथ दृष्टे वा क्षुद्रं रिपुकृतं वदेत् ॥
Praśnamārga—Part I, ch. XV, sts. 166 to 168.

12. As the word '*Manda*', the synonym of Saturn, has no relevancy whatsoever, the word '*Mande*' should be replaced

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"विकृतो दुःखितः क्षुद्रो व्यस्त्री च गतत्रपः ।
धनस्थे गुलिके जातो निःस्वो भवति मानवः ॥ ६२ ॥

चार्वङ्गो ग्रामपः पुण्यः संयुक्तः सज्जनप्रियः ।
मन्दे तृतीयगे जातो जायते राजपूजितः ॥ ६३ ॥

रोगी सुखपरित्यक्तः सदा भवति पापकृत् ।
यमात्मजे सुखस्थे तु वातपित्तादिको भवेत् ॥ ॥ ६४ ॥

विस्तुतिर्विधनोऽल्पायुर्द्वेषी क्षुद्रो नपुंसकः ।
सुतस्थानगते पापे स्त्रीजितो नास्तिको भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥

वीतशत्रुः सुपुष्टाङ्गो रिपुस्थाने यमात्मजे ।
सुदीपः सम्मतः स्त्रीणां सोत्साहः सुदृढो हितः ॥ ६६ ॥

स्त्रीजितः पापकृज्जारः कृशाङ्गो गतसौहृदः ।
जीवितः स्त्रीधनेनैव सप्तमस्थे रवेः सुते ॥ ६७ ॥

क्षुधालुदुःखितः क्रूरस्तीक्ष्णरोगोऽतिनिर्घृणः ।
रन्ध्रे प्राणहरो निःस्वो जायते गुणवर्जितः ॥ ६८ ॥

बहुक्लेशी कृशतनुः दुष्टकर्मातिनिर्घृणः ।
मन्दे धर्मस्थिते मन्दः पिशुनो बहिराकृतिः ॥ ६९ ॥

पुत्रान्वितः सुखी भोक्ता देवाग्न्यर्चनवत्सलः ।
दशमे गुलिके जातो योगधर्माश्रितः सुखी ॥ ७० ॥

सुस्त्रीभोगी प्रजाध्यक्षो बन्धूनां च हिते रतः ।
लाभे यमानुजे जातो नीचाङ्गः सार्वभौमकः ॥ ७१ ॥

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by the word '*Māndau*'. The word '*Māndī*' has been used by the author in this book itself in Khaṇḍa I chapter 27-verse 41 as the synonym of Gulika thus :

तृतीये चन्द्रमान्दी च षष्ठे वापि युते द्विज ।
कृमिकुष्ठादिना सत्त्वं मरणं च विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

Bṛhat - Parāśara - Horāśāstra (Parāśara 7th or 9th c. B. C.)

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नीचकर्माश्रितः पापो हीनाङ्गो दुर्भगोऽलसः ।
व्ययगे गुलिके जातो नीचेषु कुरुते रतिम् ॥ ७२ ॥

Similarly the result of *Gulika* is described in other works *Phaladīpikā, Praśnamārga, Jātakapārijātaka*[13] etc.

The result of *Gulika*, combined with other planets is shown in the *Jātakapārijātaka* - chapter IX - as given below:

संयुक्ते यदि भास्करेण गुलिके जातः पितृद्वेषको
मातृक्लेशकरस्तु शीतरुचिना भौमेन वीतानुजः ।

सोन्मादी शशिजेन देवगुरुणा पाषाणको दूषक-
श्शुक्रेण प्रमदाकृतामयहतो नीचाङ्गनावल्लभः ॥ ८ ॥

जातस्सौम्यरतस्तु मन्दतनये मन्देन युक्ते यदा
सर्पेणैव विषप्रदस्तु शिखिना वह्निप्रदो जायते ।

भिक्षुस्स्याद्विधनाङ्किकायुतगृहे भूपालकोऽपि ध्रुवं
जातस्योपखगान्विता गगनगाः कुर्वन्त्यनिष्टं फलम् ॥ ९ ॥

In *Muhūrttaśāstra*, another field of astrology, generally, during the time of performing *Karmas*, *Gulika* is considered inauspicious[14]. The above view has also been endorsed by great scholars like Śrīpati etc[15].

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13. *Jātakapārijātaka* (Vaidyanātha—15th c. A. D.)

14. उत्कोर्वीचलनोपरागगुलिकाः षष्ठाष्टमान्त्येन्दुस-
दृष्टारूढविमुक्तराशिसितदृक्सायाह्नसन्ध्यादयः ।
गण्डान्तोष्णविषं स्थिरं च करणं रिक्ताष्टमीविष्टयो
लाटैलकार्गलवैधृताहिशिरसः सर्वत्र वर्ज्या अमी ॥

Muhūrttapadavī—st. 1.

15. यद्राश्यन्ते स्थितावुष्णविषौ मान्दिश्च तं त्यजेत् ।

Ācārasaṅgraha.

यस्यां दिशि स्थिता नित्या गुलिकार्कजविष्टयः ।
न तां प्रति दिशं यायात् पृष्ठगास्ते शुभप्रदाः ॥

Vidyāmādhavīya (Vidyāmādhava) with *Muhūrttadīpikā* (Viṣṇu Śarmā) Part III, ch. XII.

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The method of the calculation of the *Gulika*[16] :

week days	*day Ghaṭīs*	*night Ghaṭis*
Sunday	26	10
Monday	22	6
Tuesday	18	2
Wednesday	14	26
Thursday	10	22
Friday	6	18
Saturday	2	14

The method of calculation of *Rāśi*, degree etc. of *Gulika* based on the *Ghaṭīs*, mentioned above is similar to that of *Lagna*. Also, in accordance with the duration of day and night, the necessary variations should be made in the *Ghaṭis* shown above. Different methods are given for calculating the position of *Gulika* in *Mādhavīya*, *Bārhaspatya*, *Jātakatattva* etc., but the above method is commonly accepted by the people[17].

The picture of *Gulika* is drawn as follows: *Gulika* is a long and black serpent with five heads, having reddish eyes, long teeth and fearful look. He is the son of Saturn and he is the destroyer

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16. चरं रुद्रदास्यं घटं नित्यतानं खनिर्मान्दिनाड्यः क्रमेणार्कवारात् ।
अहर्म्मानवृद्धिक्षयौ तत्र कार्यौ निशायां तु वारेश्वरात्पञ्चमाद्याः ॥
Phaladīpikā—ch. XXV, st. 2.

चन्द्ररुद्रजयवैद्यनृपातोनाखुनाडिनिहिताद्दिनमानात् ।
नागलब्धमितमान्दिघटी स्याल्लग्नवत्स्फुटमिहानयनं हि ॥
Sarvārthacintāmaṇi (Veṅkaṭeśa) ch. I, st. 135.

17. गुलिकोदयकालनाडिकाः बार्हस्पत्यमाधवीयादिषु
'नरा मुखवनं रौद्र'मित्याद्यनेकप्रकारा दृश्यन्ते ।
नैवमत्राचारः, 'अष्टौ दिनाधिपमुखोदयिन' इति
मुहूर्तरत्नश्लोकेन समानीतान्येव 'चन्द्रो रुद्र'
इत्यादीनि गुलिकोदयकालनाडिकावाक्यानि ।
तद्वाक्यानुसारेणैवात्र सदाचारो दृश्यते ।
Varadīpikā, the commentary of *Muhūrtapadavī*.

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of every thing[18]. Similar descriptions of *Gulika* are given in *Samgrāmavijaya* etc.

Today, *Gulika* is considered an important planet by Keralites. In all other parts people ignore the importance of this planet. Any how, such type of discord in respect of *Gulika* is painful.

In olden days, great scholars like Parāśara, Kālidāsa etc. have recognised *Gulika* as a prominent planet and they clearly stated his results. Parāśara, in his *Bṛhat-horā-śāstra* not only mentions *Gulika* but also gives the result of the same[19] according to *Bhāvas*. For instance, if Gulika is placed in the 3rd or 4th house together with Moon, the result would be death due to leprosy etc.[20].

Kālidāsa (?) in his work, *Uttarakālāmṛta* describes the method of calculation and the result of Gulika as stated elsewhere[21]. But he holds the view that *Gulika* and *Māndi*, sons of Saturn, are two different planets.

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18. गुलिकः क्रूरतरः शनैश्चरस्यात्मजः खलः पापः ।
सर्पाकृतिरत्युग्रो निगद्यते मृत्युरखिलसंहारी ॥
नीलाञ्जनसङ्काशो रक्ताक्षो विषयभीषणो दीर्घः ।
पञ्चास्यः पृथुदंष्ट्रो भयङ्करः सर्वहा गुलिक इति ॥
Varadipikā, the commentary of *Muhūrttapadavī*.

19. रोगार्त्तः सततं कामी इत्यादि ।
Bṛhat-Parāśara-Horāśāstra, ch. VI, st. 61—72.

20. तृतीये चन्द्रमान्दी च इत्यादि ।
Bṛhat-Parāśara-Horāśāstra, ch. XXVII, st. 41.

21. चारुः खारिजटावयोनटतनूरूनं द्युमानाहतं
खाङ्काप्तं रविवासरादिघटिकास्तत्कालभे मन्दजः ।
रात्रेर्मानमहः प्रमाणमहिहृत्खण्डप्रमाणं भवे-
दर्कघ्याः शनिवासरान्तदिवसे वारेश्वरात्खण्डपाः ॥
अन्त्यांशो हि निरीश्वरस्तु गुलिकः शन्यंशकस्तन्निशो
वारेशादिह पञ्चमादित अयं खण्डान्त भेंशे भवेत् ।
स्यातां मन्दसुतावुभावतिखलावित्येवमूचे मुनि-
र्मण्डव्यः किल यत्र तौ निवसतो तत्रैव हानिप्रदौ ॥
Uttarakālāmṛta (Kālidāsa 1st c. B. C. or 4th c. A. D.)
Khaṇḍa I, st. 8-9.

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Both after and before Kālidāsa, many great writers considered *Māndi* and *Gulika* as synonyms. Parāśara, a very old scholar in his *Bṛhat-Parāśara horāśāstra* made no distinction between *Gulika* and *Māndi*; for example the term *Gulika* is used in the 1st chapter and the term *Māndi* in chapters sixth, twenty-seventh etc. Therefore, even though there is some difference of opinion among the writers, *Gulika* is, no doubt, identical with *Māndi.*

In the *Vivaraṇa*, commentary of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* Rudra, has clearly stated that Varāhamihira never used the terms *Gulika* or *Māndi* in his work is untenable for the simple reason that he stated in the beginning that he was writing *Bṛhajjātaka* as '*Svalpam* and *Arthabahulam*' short and full of meaning. Therefore it will be proper to consider *Gulika* as a prominent planet.

In the light of what is stated above, *Māndi* alias *Gulika* should be recognised not only as a sub-planet, but also he should be reckoned with Sun, Moon etc. as the tenth planet. This will help accuracy in prediction.

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SECTION XIV: GREATER INDIAN STUDIES

President: Dr. Raghuvira

1. On the Symbolical Colours attached to the directions of space in Indonesia

L. C. Damais

2. Sarasvatī in Burma

Devaprasad Guha

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ON THE SYMBOLICAL COLOURS ATTACHED TO THE DIRECTIONS OF SPACE IN INDONESIA

L. C. Damais, Djakarta

Due to the various influences which have been at work in Indonesia, and especially in Java and Bali, it seemed to us interesting to try to determine whence the colour symbolism still current there could have come from. We shall begin with a few examples taken from Hinduism. They are of course quite familiar to you and I only mention them here as a basis for the rest of my expose.

As is well known, we already find in the *Upaniṣad* some lists of colours, although without any correspondence. Thus in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* we find the following colours: *piṅgala*, *śukla*, *nīla*, *pīta*, and *lohita* or brown, white, indigo, yellow and red.

A similar list is to be found in the *Kauṣītakyupaniṣad* except that *kṛṣṇa* "dark" takes the place of *nīla*.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, the colours are not enumerated in the same order; we find there: *śukla*, *nīla*, *piṅgala*, *harita*, *lohita*.

In this latter *Upaniṣad*, we also find the name of the deities of the Cardinal Points: *Āditya* for the East, *Yama* for the South, *Varuṇa* for the West, *Soma* for the North and *Agni* for the Zenith, thus :

Soma

Varuṇa Āditya

Yama

In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* we find again colours, this time associated with various "aspects" (*rūpa*) of the Sun. These are *rohita* for the East, *śukla* for the South, *kṛṣṇa* for the West and *paraḥkṛṣṇa* for the North. It is curious that there are here really only three different colours, *paraḥkṛṣṇa* being only another shade of *kṛṣṇa*.

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In the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* by Varāhamihira, four colours are attributed to the *caturvarṇa* with the orientation of their houses. We have then, beginning with the North.

	Brāhmaṇa	N		white	
Śūdra	Kṣatriya	W	E	black	red
	Vaiśya	S		yellow	

In the *Yogayātrā* by the same Varāhamihira, we find, among other lists, one of the Planets with their Regents and a correspondence with the 8 directions of space and their Regents (*Dikpāla*).

Regents of the Directions		Regents of the Planets			
	Kubera		Ajña		Mercury
Vāyu	Śiva	Candra	Guru	Moon	Jupiter
Varuṇa	Indra	Saura	Ravi	Saturn	Sun
Nirṛti	Agni	Rāhu	Sita	Rāhu	Venus
	Yama		Kuja		Mars

Incidentally, it is to be remembered that in some old temples in Bhubaneswar, for example -, one finds representations of eight and not nine "planets", *ketu* being also absent there.

There is also a list of the material and the colour to be used for statues of the deities of the Cardinal Points and of the Regents of the Planets which are different.

There are still other lists with some variations, but we shall not mention them here for lack of time.

I shall only recall in this paper a list of the eight *Lokapālas* according to the text of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, as they are also well known in Indonesia although names and colours are slightly different.

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Brahma		greenish yellow	
Vāyu	Śiva	darkish	sparkled gray
Varuṇa	Indra	pale yellow	crimson
Nirṛti	Agni	dove coloured	white
Yama		deep blue	

The commentary by Kāśyapa has a somewhat different list.

If now we look to China, in an old tradition recorded in the *Yueling* chapter of the *Li Chi*, we find an orientation of the Five Emperors with their colours.

These are:

	黑	black	
白	黃	青 white	yellow blue/green
	赤	red	

On the other hand, the elements are oriented thus :

	水	water	
金	土	metal earth	wood
	火	木 fire	

This is completely different from the Indian tradition.

Turning now to Buddhism which has had a tremendous influence in Indonesia, we find various correspondences of the *Tathāgata* with the Cardinal Points with a specific *mudrā* and also a colour for each of them.

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	Amoghasiddhi			green	
Amitābha	Vairocana	Akṣobhya	red	white	blue
	Ratnasambhava			yellow	

The same list is also found in Chinese Buddhism.

There are some variants but we shall only mention this one, because it has been known in Java. For the Tathāgata, we have the testimony of the famous Bora Budur, and for the colours, that of an Old Javanese expose of Māhayānic Buddhism called *Saŋ Hyaŋ Kamahāyānikan*. The only difference is that we find here, instead of "green" the term *viśvavarṇa* "multicoloured", which seems typically Javanese, although of Sanskrit origin.

There are many other correspondences with the Cardinal Points found in the *Saŋ Hyaŋ Kamahāyānikan*, of which we shall only mention here the *dhātu* and the *guṇa* These are:

	wind			touch	
fire	earth	ether	form	odour	speech
	water			taste	

Another arrangement of the Tathāgata in which Vairocana occupies the East and Akṣobhya the Centre, has also been known in Indonesia, may be only in Sumatra.

One wonders whether this would be an indication of different schools having been at the work in Sumatra and in Java/Bali.

Consulting now purely Javanese sources (thus not Buddhistic), we find in an old Javanese work, the *Korawāśrama*, a series of correspondences between the colours and the nine directions of Space. There are first the four Cardinal Points for which the Sanskrit terms are explained in old Javanese. The colour of the four intermediary ones are considered a mixture of the two next cardinal ones without any Sanskrit name for them, but only a

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Javanese one. The colour of the Centre is the *visvavarṇa* which we have already met.

kṛṣṇa		ireŋ		(blue)-black
	ijo	biru	green	blue
pīta sarvavarṇa	śveta	kuniŋ sivah putih	yellow all colours	white
	jiŋga	dalu	orange	rose
rakta		abaŋ		red

As can be seen, the colour for the SE is *rose* (a mixture of white and red), that of the SW is *orange* (a mixture of red and yellow), that of the NW *green*, considered a mixture of yellow and blue-black and that of the NE is *blue*, a mixture of blue-black and white. The term *sivah*, which means "of all colours" or an "indeterminate colour", has probably been chosen for its phonetic resemblance to Śiva which is the Deity of the Centre. In Bali one uses too the word *brumbun* which is also "mixed colour".

We have here something quite new and as far as we have been able to see, not to be found either in Hinduism or in Buddhism.

We find an analogous distribution of the colours, but only for the five Cardinal Points, in another Old Javanese poem, the *Sri Tanjuŋ*.

In the big ceremony called in Bali *pancāwalikramā*, offerings of a certain colour are placed at the five Cardinal Points for the deities attributed to each.

We have there:

Viṣṇu				black
Mahādeva	Śiva	Maheśvara	yellow "mixed colour"	white
Brahma				red

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So we have again the typical Javanese-Balinese arrangement, where Śiva occupies the Centre, as well as the axis East-West, Viṣṇu the North and Brahma the South.

We find the same orientation in the three principal temples of the complex called Lārā Joŋgraŋ, near the village of Prambanan in Central Java, as well as in Bali in the big Temple of Besakih, where a triple altar in a North-South axis, has a seat for Śiva in the middle, another for Brahma in the South and the third in the North for Viṣṇu.

In a more recent Javanese work, the *Maniq Māyā*, we find the same symbolism with four chief colours and the fifth one for the Centre being a "mixed colour". The intermediary points are less important. These colours are also connected with letters of the Javanese alphabet, with birds, metals, the elements, and the five days of the Market week.

We have these:

water	Wage	black
wind sun earth	Pon Kaliwon Legi	yellow "mixed colour" white
fire	Pahiŋ	red

In certain Balinese rites, one finds nine Deities in a certain order and according to the nine directions of Space, with their attributes and colours.

The deities and their colours are:

Viṣṇu		black or dark blue	
Śaṅkara	Śambu	green	light blue
Mahādeva	Śiva Īśvara	yellow	eight coloured white
Rudra	Mahesara	orange	light red
Brahmā			dark red

The same disposition is used in various *mantras* and some add to these nine the Zenith and the Nadir. This is called *ekādaśarudra*.

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The deity for the Zenith is *Tayācintyā* (a Javanese word with a Sanskrit element) which can be translated as the "Unthinkable" and for the Nadir, *Anantaboga.* There are also some local differences.

However, everywhere in Java and Bali, one finds only *four* chief colours which, starting from the East and following in *pradakṣiṇa* are: *white, red, yellow* and (*blue*)-*black.* This is the chief difference with the *pañcawarṇa* of India or the 五正色 of China, where we thus find *five* principal colours and not four.

This is the reason why in the shadow-play drama called *Devā Ruci* in which Bhīma, falsely directed by his *guru* Droṇa who hopes he will get killed, goes into the ocean in search of the Water of Immortality. He obtains the latter from a very small deity, called *Devā Ruci*, who at the same time, gives him the Supreme Knowledge, one finds there the following sentence:

swetā raktā pitā krsnā, ikā warna niŋ buwānā—white, red, yellow and black, these are the colours of the Universe.

Although we could only in this communication give a glimpse of the material we have collected on this subject, it seems clear to us that the four principal Javanese colours, —although they are incidentally those attributed to the castes in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* —, have a definitely different connection with each cardinal point. On the other hand, the colours connected with the intermediary points are unknown in this use to India. The distribution of the deities is also at variance with the Indian symbolism. The Buddhist arrangement was well known in Java, but is again quite different.

One has here one more example of a typically Javanese re-working of what has been brought to the island with Indian influence.

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SARASVATI IN BURMA

Devaprasad Guha, Rangoon

Burma today is a professedly Buddhist country and it follows the Pāli canon of the Hīnayāna School. The Theravāda form of Buddhism was introduced at Pagan, the then cradle of Burmese culture, in the third quarter of the eleventh century through the energetic efforts of King Anawrahta (1044-83). According to the available records this form of Buddhism was brought from Rāmaññadesa, the cradle of Môn culture As regards the history of the introduction of Buddhism in the Môn region, we are to depend entirely on the evidence of the Ceylonese chronicles the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, according to which the faith was introduced into Suvaṇṇabhūmi (identified with the modern Taikkala in the Bilin township of the Thaton district of Burma) by Soṇa and Uttara, the two missionaries sent by the Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, the president of the Third Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of Aśoka the Great. But that is all tradition and the historicity of it is yet to be proved. The only fact that can be asserted with any amount of confidence at the present stage of historical research is that the introduction of the faith must have taken place not later than the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. But, as to the nature or form of Buddhism that was introduced, there is yet some doubt.

So far about Buddhism. Now looking at the entire stretch of South-east Asia we find that all countries, which were commercially connected with India or in which there were Indian settlements, were permeated with Brahmanical culture and its elaborate paraphernalia of rites and rituals, gods and goddesses, myths and legends. In Java, Sumatrā. Campā and Kamboja Brahmanical and Buddhist cultures flourished side by side. In Siam too, which is avowedly Buddhist, finds of Hindu images testify to the presence of Brahmanical culture in that country. But what about Burma? With India and South-east Asia on either side, one pauses to think and that quite legitimately,

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whether or not Burma could remain unaffected by the impact of Brahmanical culture. The answer to it is an emphatic *no*. Indeed, Burma too was highly influenced by this great culture. Literary, historical and archaeological evidences have proved this beyond all doubts.

Early Môn inscriptions of Burma testify to the existence of Brahmanical influence in the Burmese Buddhist courts. These records further go to suggest that the rituals and ceremonies, which were performed by the people of the land, were partially Brahmanical in nature, and the god who was worshipped was almost invariably Viṣṇu. Brahmanical influence is also indicated by certain ancient place-names of the country, and to mention one it is Peikthanomyo, i.e., Viṣṇu-myo, the city of Viṣṇu, which has recently been excavated by the Archaeological Department of Burma. But the best proof of the prevalence of the Brahmanical faith is advanced by the discoveries of Brahmanical images and temples in the country. Of the Hindu shrrines in ancient Burma, one is still in existence, though not in a very good condition. It is the Nat-hlaung Pagoda at Pagan, the principal deity of which is the Brahmanical god Viṣṇu himself. Besides the main image, the shrine accommodates representations of at least seven incarnations of Viṣṇu. About the representations of the remaining three incarnations of the god, it may be said that, though the images are no longer there, faint traces on the walls are still visible to suggest that these images once adorned the walls of the temple. From the stylistic point of view, the sculptures which are still existent, belong to the ninth or tenth centuries. The presence of this shrine and the images it accommodates prove beyond doubt the existence of Brahmanical population in Upper Burma at a fairly early period of the history of the country. But with the growth of the Theravāda form of Buddhism in the land, these shrines gradually fell into disuse and ultimately became lost. Most of these images, which once sanctified these temples, are now emerging out of the debris of the ruins of centuries. Such Brahmanical sculptures have been unearthed from Pagan in Upper Burma, Hmawza in Central Burma, Thaton and Tennasserim in the south-east coast of the country and at ancient Vesālī in the Arakan division in the west. The earliest of these images seems to have belonged to the sixth or seventh century, while the latest

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one can approximately be placed in the fourteenth. Most of the images so far discovered are of Viṣṇu in various representations. Next in order comes Śiva. Then in importance stand Brahmā and Gaṇeśa. About these gods Dr. Niharranjan Ray has discussed in some length in his monograph called the *Brahmanical Gods in Burma.* But small as the span of his investigation was, the learned Professor could not deal with other Brahmanical deities like Caṇḍī and Sarasvatī. A study of the Burmese literature sufficiently testifies to the knowledge of the ancient Burmese people not only about these deities but also about many others. Then, again, quite a number of them are still now worshipped by Burmese Buddhists as *nats* by which name the Hindu deities are known in Burma. It seems necessary to say something about this word. *Nat* in Burmese is generally accepted as being derived from the Sanskrit or Pāli word *nātha*, meaning chief or lord. As such it appears that the word *nāt* originally conveyed a dignified sense. But with the passing away of time the word seems to have lost much of its prestige and has come to mean "spirits" as well. That is possibly why the more dignified words *deva* and *devī* were introduced in later Burmese literature, while retaining the more popular designation *nāt*. Any way, a very humble attempt has been made in this paper to place before the scholarly world a brief sketch of the Burmese conception of Sarasvatī, the well-revered goddess of the Hindus who is regarded as one of the most important deities by the Burmese Buddhists of today.

Now, before we discuss the Burmese conception of Sarasvatī, it seems necessary to say a few words about the Indian conception of the deity. The word Sarasvatī is a combination of two elements, namely, *saras* meaning "water" and "*vatī*" meaning "possessed of". Thus, etymologically the word means "having water" and only by implication "the river". It may be pointed out that at later times the word *saras* has come to mean "the lake", and it is in this sense the word *saro*, the Pāli form of *saras*, has been used in the Pāli commentarial literature. Going back to Sarasvatī, the word has been used in the implied sense of "the river" in the *Ṛgveda* which incidentally also describes it as a river-goddess. In the *Nirukta*, Yāska has taken the word *Sarasvatī* a implying "a river", as also "a goddess". Says he: *Sarasvatī*

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iti etasya nadivat devatāvacca nigamā bhavanti (*Nirukta* 2, 23). In his commentary on the *Ṛgveda* (1.3.12) Sāyaṇa too takes the word in the same sense and he says "*dvividhā hi Sarasvatī vigrahavaddevatā nadīrūpā ca*". It appears that *saras*, which originally meant "water" in the early Vedic period, after sometime assumed the significance of the presiding deity of water as also meant an accumulation of water, the latter again by implication "a lake" or "a river". As a river, the Sarasvatī formed the boundary of the Brahmāvarta, the early home of the Aryans, and in all likelihood was to them a sacred river. In early Pāli literature Sarasvatī is considered as a river arising from the Himalayas (*Theragāthā*, v. 1104) and it formed the western boundary of the Majjhimadesa. As a river-goddess Sarasvatī has been lauded for the fertilising and purifying powers of her waters, also as the bestower of fertility, fortune and wealth. The *Ṛgveda* (2.41.16) has described her as the best amongst the mothers, the biggest amongst the rivers and the mightiest amongst the goddesses (*ambitame nadītame devitame Sarasvatī*).

Though, as a goddess, Sarasvatī is described in the *Ṛgveda* as presiding over the river only, in the Brāhmaṇas she has been identified with *Vāk*, the embodiment of speech, by whom knowledge is communicated to human beings. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.9.1.7) identifies Sarasvatī with *Vāk* (*Vāg vai Sarasvati*). Prior to this identification *Vāk* was an altogether separate conception. The *Atharvaveda* describes her as the daughter of Kāma and designates her as the cow which milked forth sustenance and yielded men nourishment. According to the Brāhmaṇas, she is associated with Prajāpati in the work of creation. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* describr her as the mother of the *Vedas*. In the *Mahābhārata* and in latee mythology, Sarasvatī was identified with *Vāk*, and became under different names the spouse of Brahmā and the goddess of wisdom and eloquence. The Purāṇas say that Sarasvatī was the consort of Brahmā, the goddess of speech and learning, inventress of the Sanskrit language, and the patroness of the arts and sciences. Some Purāṇas further say that Mānasa Sarovara, the famous lake in the Himalayan region, was the place where Sarasvatī was born. According to the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, Sarasvatī was originally one of the three wives of Viṣṇu who, at a later time,

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became disgusted with the three and transferred Sarasvatī to Brahmā and Gaṅgā to Śiva, and contended himself with Lakṣmī alone.

The Swan is the most popular carrier of Sarasvatī. She is also frequently found seated on a lotus. But a number of images of Sarasvatī have been discovered in which her carrier is either a lamb or a lion or a peacock.

We shall now speak a few words on the Burmese conception of Sarasvatī. In Burma she is known as Sūrassatī (pronounced in Burmese as Thūyatati) which is nothing but a distorted form of the Sanskrit name. In Burmese literary records of the last four hundred years quite a number of references have been made to Sarasvatī, a few of which are given below for the perusal of scholars.

According to the *Vohāralinatthadīpanī Kyan* (1830), p. 88, a work on etymology, the abode of Sarasvatī devī was in a lake. The *Ādikappa Kambhā Oo Kyan* (1901), p. 126, a work on cosmology, astrology and astronomy, says that Sarasvatī is one of the twelve *nats* who live in the Sīdantara lake and look after the good of the people. Though it is difficult to identify this lake, it is supposed to have been in the Himalayan region. As such, it is not unlikely that it refers to the Mānasa-sarovara. Whatever the identification might be, Sarasvatī's connection with Burma has been well-acknowledged and her connection with a lake reminds us of the corresponding Indian conception.

In the *Thonsai - khuna Min*, a work of recent past, Sarasvatī is described as the wife of Brahmā. It further says that the deity has a *haṃsa* for her carrier. This view is supported by the *Nānāchanda Pyo*, v. 106, a poetical work of 1826, according to which the goddess moves about sitting on a swan and holding a white lotus in her hand. It is rather difficult to identify the Burmese *haṃsa* with the Indian swan. Some take it in the sense of a brahmany goose. But it seems that the word signifies some mythical bird having the general features of a swan.

In the *Paññat Net Kyan*, a modern Pāli-Burmese dictionary, Sarasvatī appears as a synonym for *go*, a cow. This interpretation agrees with the *Atharvaveda* conception mentioned above.

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Sarasvatī is regarded as commanding control over tongue and lips. The *Rāma Ragan*, which incidentally is the Burmese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and is a poetical work of the late eighteenth century, testifies to this. While speaking about the glory of Rāma it says that his lips were graciously influenced by Sarasvatī. Then again in a historical ballad of the sixteenth century on prince Tabinshweti (1531-50), known as the *Mintaya-Shwe-hti E-gyin*, it is said that the glory of the prince was due to his tongue being influenced by Sarasvatī.

According to *Sūjā Pyo*, a poetical work of 1741, every child is taught arts and science by Sarasvatī.

The *Boin Kauk* (*Boycott*) *Ṭīkā*, a literary commentary on the Rangoon University boycott movement of 1920, while exhorting students says that those who wish to have command over literary composition should submit to the goddess Sarasvatī as she is the presiding deity over learning and knowledge. The same idea is very often repeated in modern Burmese composition. From the references mentioned above it is evident that to have efficiency in literary work one should adore Sarasvatī. But on occasions even Sarasvatī has been put in the background by bards while speaking on the glory of the kings. Such an example we find in the case of Bodawpaya who ruled over Burma between 1782 and 1819. According to the poet of the *Rakhaing Naing Mawgun*, a historical ballad on the conquest of Arakan, the glory of Bodawpaya was so great that even the goddess Sarasvatī was not fully competent to describe his eminence.

According to the *Mahāsūtakāri Maghadeva Liṅgā Thit*, a poetical composition of 1904, Sarasvatī is described as having sixty-four *yoginis* as her attendants. In this case Sarasvatī seems to have been confused with the Hindu goddess Durgā who is so well-known as having sixty-four *yoginīs* always attending upon her.

Now, if the facts stated above are properly analysed, we find that to the Burmese people Sarasvatī is the wife of Brahmā. She lives in the Sīdantara lake and moves about riding on a *haṃsa*. She is the goddess of learning, the goddess of speech, the presiding deity over arts and sciences, and also the protector of the three Pali Piṭakas. It is further evident that her blessings are

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essential for one who aspires for eloquence in speech, perfection in wisdom and excellence in knowledge. So far the Burmese Surassatī may be described more or less a replica of the Indian Sarasvatī of the Brāhmaṇa and later periods.

To the Burmese Buddhists Sarasvatī is also the goddess of luck and prosperity. A couple of references are given below to justify this point. The *Indovaṃsa Nandwin Zattaw Gyi*, a drama of the nineteenth century, says that the goddesses Sarasvatī and Caṇḍī bring about prosperity for the people who honour and respect them. The *Suja Pyo* advises people to surrender themselves to Sarasvatī and in return they are assured of good luck and fortune. As the goddess of luck and prosperity Sarasvatī is not very much known in India today. Nor was she known as such during the Vedic period. But in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* Sarasvatī has been mentioned as the goddess of luck and prosperity.

So far we have not found anything new in the Burmese conception of Sarasvatī. But to the Burmese people credit is really due for a novel conception about the deity. To them she is also the goddes of love. The Burmese literature gives ample support to this conception and we propose to mention here just one such reference. In the *Piyasiddhi Alinpya Kyan*, a prose work on perfection, it is said reciting the following *mantra* seven times one should invoke the Sarasvatī *nat* in order to attain success in any enterpise or to win love of others, particulary of the opposite sex. The *mantra* referred to is:

"Oṃ bhavâbhavā nandamātā
akkharā bandhukā balā, bhavantī,
aham vandi, bhagavā lokamsampanne āsi
santi bhayā rogā vinassantu."

Now, in India it is a very common practice amongst the illiterate people even today to take recourse to charms and incantations to win the favours of others, particularly by women frustrated in love. But so far as it is known to the author, Sarasvatī is not the goddess invoked in India for the purpose. Naturally question arises as to how did the Burmese people bring Sarasvatī in the picture. Incidentally it may be said that in Japan

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Sarasvatī is being worshipped for a long time under the name Benthen who, besides being the goddess of learning, is also the goddess of love. Of course it must be admitted that the similarity in idea appears to be just accidental. If it is not, it is the duty of scholars to find out as to who originated the idea and when. Besides it is yet to be seen how much the original conception of Sarasvatī as the goddess of love is still retained, and if there had taken place any change in the conception, in which way had the change taken place.

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SECTION XV: LOCAL LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

President : Gowri Shanker

1. Dogri Language

   D. C. Prashant

2. The Kashmiri word अल्

   Dr. Harihar Prasad Gupta

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DOGRI LANGUAGE

D. C. Prashant, Jammu.

Dogri, language of the Dogras, occupies an important position in the family of Indo-Aryan languages in India.

According to the previous census figures, it is spoken by ten lakh people of the Jammu Province - from Ranbirsinghpura to Ramban and from Kathua to Sialsui—in the Sandarbani Tehsil of the Poonch District.

Dogri can be classified into three catagories:—

1. Pahari Dogri.
2. Kandi Dogri.
3. Dogri of the Plains.

All the three categories somewhat vary from each other. Pahari Dogri is spoken by the people residing in the hilly areas of the North-East of Jammu Province. In the Udhampur District the Dogri speaking belt goes up to Mehtra-Ramban and Khaleni towards Bhadarwah where the confluence of Bhadarwahi and Dogri is clearly discernible. In the Ramnagar Tehsil of Udhampur the Dogri area extends upto Dudu and beyond Basohli and Bilawar in the District of Kathua.

Kandi Dogri is spoken by the people of Kandi area (arid belt) between plains and hills, stretched in the Districts of Jammu and Kathua and partly in Reasi Tehsil.

Dogri as spoken in the plains extends to the Tehsils of Samba, Rakbirsinghpura, Jammu and Akhnoor and Jammu city. This branch of the language exhibits considerable influence of Punjabi-an adjoining language on account of its nearness.

Pahari Dogri has several linguistic peculiarities such as richness of vocabulary and accentuation. It is a '*sh*' dialect and

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its vowels are generally lengthened. '*Chh*' sound is nearly missinig in it as:-

Pishe	for *Pichhi* (*backside*)
Bashi	for *Bachhi* (*filly*)
Shatri	for *Chhatri* (*an umbrella*)
Shannana	for *Chhannana* (*sieve*)
Shek	for *Chhek* (*hole*)
Asha	for *Accha* (*well*)
She	for *Chhe* (*six*)
Shuara	for *Chhuara* (*a dried fruit*).

The tendency to lengthen vowels exists in Pahari Dogri (In the Tehsils of Udhampur, Ramnagar, and Bilawar), as:

Khāūrhia	for *khaiurhia* (*eaten*)
Lāūrhia	for *Laiurhia* (*put on*)
Pēēurhia	for *Peeurhia* (*drunk*)
Sēēurhia	for *Seeurhia* (*stitched*)

But the tendency is not found in Kandi Dogri. Here '*Chh*' sound is partially used just like in the plains which is all due to its contact with the Punjabi language. In this dialect vowels are not lengthened as in Pahari, and it has no influence of Punjabi. It can be characterised as the standard Dogri of the Jammu Province.

Dogri is a '*B*' dialect as '*V*' sound does not exist so much in it. All initial '*V*' sounds are converted into '*B*' sounds like *Watan* ≺ *Batan* (mother land), *Varkha* ≺ *Barkha* (rain), *Vrind* ≺ *Brind*, *Vrithā* ≺ *Birtha* (futile). To find distinction, in these three belts, we find that for the past-tense '*Was*' '*Tha*' is used in Pahari Dogri, '*ha*' in Kandi and '*sa*' in plains as:- *O Jandā thā*, *o Jandā hā*, *o Janda sā* (He used to go).

Dogri and its allied dialects.

Dogri has its own dialects and all these surround Duggar, the land of Dogras. When we start from the west, first of all we come across a dialect known as Chabāli which covers area between Devā and Bhimbar which is under occupation of Pakistan. This dialect somewhat differs from Dogri in accent. Beyond

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Bhimbar another dialect starts and extends upto Poonch. This dialect is Pothohari which is a Pahari dialect but has considerable influence of Punjabi but it has a little affinity with Dogri also. The words which start with the vowel in Dogri retain their character in Pothohari as

Dogri	Pothohari	Punjabi
Kuthe	*Kuthe*	*Kithe*
Kus	*Kus*	*Kis*

But '*u*' becomes '*i*' in Punjabi. The *Marhā* (mine) is freely used in Dogri and Pothohari but it becomes *Mera* in Punjabi. The words such as *Jātak*, *Loon*, *Babb*, *Bhraū*, *Maū* and several other nouns are common in both.

On the Riasi hills there is multiplicity of Khas dialects and this area is called Khasali. The speakers of these dialects are Khas people who are mostly Thakkars and who are, probably, the original inhabitants of the Duggar. These sub-dialects, though numerous, are intelligible to the Khas people who are scattered all over this vast area.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has conducted some research work on these dialects but much remains to be done.

Then we pass on to the extreme North of Jammu in the Ramban Tehsil where we find an interesting dialect known as Surājī. This is spoken on the Doda mountain which is girdled by the river Chenab and is cut off from the rest of the area due to its non-accessibility. Surājī is divided into two belts-North and West. Northern belt is influenced by Kashmiri and the Western one has some resemblence with Dogri.

Dr. Varma's opinion about this dialect is very sound. He says in his article published in the Nami Chetna (Vol. 1, 1953) that Rambani (Surājī) retains pronominal suffixes, peculiar to Kashmiri, it has been classified among "Dardic Languages like Kashmiri, Shina etc."

In the Kishtwar area we notice that Kashmiri is predominent there and that is due to a large scale migration of Kashmiri

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population to this area. Kashmiri has completely compressed local dialects which are visible only in folk songs and local accent. As in Madhva, Wadwan and Dachhan areas of Kishtwar, Kashmiri is spoken in local, loose accent.

Then we come to the Bhadarwahi area on the East of Ramban. On account of mass migration of the Kashmiris to this side also Bhadarwahi has been influenced by Kashmiri but philologists will not find even a slight affinity of Kashmiri with Bhadarwahi. Accent is quite Pahari and folk tunes and songs of Chambā are sung in this place.

This is a very important Pahari dialect having close resemblance with Dogri. The only significant character of this dialect is that it has neuter gender unlike modern Indian languages and dialects.

Final vowels generally end in '*u*' sound in Bhadarwahi but this characteristic also exsits in Dogri. While making diminutives, this characteristic is amply used even in Dogri e.g.

Dogri	Dogri
Bakra (*He goat*)	*Bakru* (*Lamb*)
Bachha (*colt*)	*Bachhu* (*small colt*)
Ghora (*Horse*)	*Ghorhu* (*small Horse*)
Hathi (*Elephant*)	*Hathanu* (*small elephant*)
Nikka (*small*)	*Nikku* (*very small*)
Kurta (*shirt*)	*Kurutu* (*small shirt*)
Dhoti	*Doti*

But there are other words also which have final '*u*' as *Jānū Pachhānu, Manū, Jolnū, Pakharu.* This shows similarity of word formation between Dogri and Bhadarwahi.

On the North East of Jammu we find another group of Pahari dialects spoken on Bani and Billawar hills. Like Khas dialects these are very peculiar and interesting and all these bear relation to Dogri.

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On the East of Jammu Dogri spoken by Basohli people has influence of Chambiali Dogri. This dialect is quite interesting but it differs from Kandi Dogri in accentuation but it is very close to it.

The Mandali Dogri of Mandi and Suketar and Kangri Dogri also show close kinship with Dogri of Kandi Dogri.

Is Dogri a dialect?

There has been a controversy since long over the issue whether Dogri is a dialect or a language. Sir George Grierson has classed it as a dialect of Punjabi (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 637), but it will be more correct to call Dogri a dialect for its non-standardized character and lack of literature. But it is not a dialect of Punjabi.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the reputed linguist, has described it as an independent dialect but not as a dialect of Punjabi or any language.

There was a sort of controvery over this issue in the Punjab and some Punjabi Professors ventured to call Dogri a dialect of Punjabi and they gave reasons for this which were not convincing. If we apply these reasons to Punjabi, then one would hasten to class Punjabi as a dialect of Hindi. The main reason which they stressed was that Dogri is a border dialect and all such dialects are off-shoots of major languages contiguous to it. They have given a list of words of Punjabi being used in Dogri.

I have said in the beginning that Dogri of the Plains has considerable influence of Punjabi because of its contiguity with the Punjab and the peoples' relations and associations with the Punjabis. But it is interesting to note that Dogri has not been influenced by the West Punjab but Punjabi spoken in the Sialkot Tehsil was greatly influenced by Dogri. The people of that area used several original Dogri words and their accent was also quite peculiar to the Punjabi of Majha.

When a man visits Jammu city or Ranbirsinghpura Tehsil he finds marked agreement between Punjabi and Dogri but

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the moment he reaches interior of Udhampur District, his idea that Dogri is dialect of Punjabi vanishes altogether. Even Dogri of this area is quite unintelligible for him.

After the partition of the Punjab the traffic of the Punjabi words in Dogri has stopped and now Dogri of the Plains is slowly losing its Punjabi influence.

Dr. Varma in his article published in the Nami Chetna (Vol. 1, 1953) says:—

> " Those who have closely watched Dogri language as actually heard by Punjabi speakers must admit that hardly ten per cent of Dogri could be understood by a Punjabi speaker. The test of a dialect when taken as the form of a language of 'spontaneous intelligibility', the dialect must be understood without any effort of an interpreter. In the light of this test Dogri cannot be called a dialect of Punjabi, nor is there any proof that it can be called the dialect of any Pahari language. Hence it is more reasonable to call Dogri a language in the sense of an independent dialect. "

This is the opinion of a great linguist who has keenly studied the phonology of Dogri. Dr. Varma has called Dogri a frontier language and giving reasons he says:—

1. They tend to retain some features of one group of languages and some of the other groups e.g. ancient Hittite spoken in Mesopotamia has grammatical features of Indo-European, but its vocabulary was from languages other than Indo-European. Similarly, the dialect spoken in Ramban has many features in common with Dogri, but as it retains pronominal suffixes peculiar to Kashmir, it has been classed among 'Dardic' languages like Kashmiri, Shina etc."

"These languages," writes Dr. Varma, "offer complications which are often baffling to the philologists, for being living phenomena, they are not mere arithmetical collection of neighbouring linguistic features, but also undergo new developments of their own, the origin of which is sometimes

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difficult to trace; for instance Dogri may be called a '*Sh*' language for where Punjabi or Hindi has '*Chh*', Dogri has '*Sh*'. What is the origin of this '*Sh*' in Dogri? The answer is that it is a further development, made by Dogri, of the loose pronunciation of '*Chh*' in Kashmir and Pahari ; for in these languages '*Chh*' is still pronounced somewhat like '*tz*'." But apart from the view of an eminent linguist there are other clear reasons which guarantee Dogri's independent character.

It has its own script which is still prevalent in the Jammu Province. The Dogra businessmen generally keep their accounts in this script. The script as well as Dogri language was once recognized by the courts.

There are numerous copper plates and rock inscriptions in the Dogri language and Dogri script. During the reign of Maharaja Ranbirsingh (1858-1885) Dogri was given official status and some books in Dogri on various subjects were also compiled. An attempt was also made for standardization of this language but the Dogri of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's period has considerable shades of Hindi.

Since the past few years Dogri writers are creating literature and now over 60 books on poetry, drama, stories, novels and criticism have appeared. All the Dogri writers are influenced by Hindi and not by Punjabi.

Influence of Other Languages on Dogri

Sanskrit

Like other languages, Hindi, Bengali etc., Dogri has not got much Sanskrit influence on it, but still several *Tatsama* Sanskrit words exist in it. These words are freely used in Dogri.

Gograās	*Sankalp*	*Pankti*		*Panktbhet*
Japtap	*Dharam*	*Jagatri*		*Sukhdukh*
Nimantran	*Shwas*	*Bhog*		*Charanamrit*
Sanskar	*Karan*	*Vidya*	*Pind*	*Stuti*
Vedan	*Pran*	*Mund*	*Neet*	*Sharan*

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glānā (verb) in Dogri is directly derived from Sanskrit root *glai.*

But there are hundreds of Sanskrit words which are pronounced in Dogri according to the suitability of the speaker.E.g.

Tadbhava	Tatsama
Sog	*Shok*
Lakkhan	*Lakhyana*
Bharam	*Bhram*
Sudh	*Shudh*
Chaintā	*Chintā*
Masājni	*Masibhājan*
Sis	*Ashīsh*
Srāp	*Shrāp*
Barlāp	*Virlāp*
Narōg	*Nirōg*
Navēd	*Naivēd*
Sagandh	*Saughandh*
Satvāh	*Saptāh*
Rukh	*Rukhya*
Katnkhyā	*Akānkhyā*
Barat	*Vrat*
Īrkhā	*Īrshyā*
Kaint	*Kānt*
Santōkh	*Santōsh*
Mūrat	*Mūrati*
Maintra	*Mantra*
Janam	*Janam*
Sūrbīr	*Shūrvīr*
Gāsa	*Akāsh*

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Persian

Persian has greatly influenced Dogri. Several Persian words exist in it in original form but most of these are accentuated differently. E.g.—

Dogri	Persian
Phikar	*Phikra*
Marād	*Murād*
Jurat	*Jurrat*
Majāj	*Mijāz*
Ejjat	*Izzat*
Baijjati	*Beizzati*
Tasabbar	*Tasavvar*
Kiyas	*Qiyasa*
Kartūt	*Kartūt*
Shukar	*Shukra*

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THE KASHMIRI WORD अल्

(A Historical and Comparative Study)

Dr. Harihar Prasad Gupta, Srinagar

The word अल् has a great significance from the point of Indology and linguistics. The question whether the word belongs to Indo-Aryan family or to Austric is yet to be decided.

The word अल् means in Kashmiri bottle gourd. (Latin. *Lagenaria vulgaris*). It is used for Pumpkin (Lat. *cucurbita moschota*) also. But the first one i.e. the bottle gourd is treated as native product and the other one as foreign one. Therefore the former one is called as कशर अल् (कशर meaning कश्मीरी) and the latter as परिय अल् (परिय meaning foreign). The Ash gourd (Lat. *Benincasa hispida*) which is called पेठा or सफेद कुम्हडा or मूरा कुम्हड़ा in Hindi is not found here.

As regards the history of the word it goes to the Vedic period. According to the Vedic Index (by Macdonell and Keith) the word *alābu* meaning bottle gourd occurs in Atharvaveda (VIII. 10, 29, 30 ; XX 132, 1.2). Here according to the Index it means vessels made of bottle gourd. Thus it is evident that bottle gourd was very common in those days and the bitter gourd (one of its varieties) was used for making vessels. This अल् is called स्येठ अल् in Kashmiri meaning तिक्त अल्. Thus one thing is clear from the use of अल् in Kashmiri that it was used for all the three kinds of gourds, the long one, the round one and the bitter one. The vessels mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* must have been made of the bitter gourd as the practice is still prevalent. Therefore the point worth noting is that Kashmiri is the only language, as far as I know, in which अल् is used for all the three gourds. The Sanskrit word कुष्माण्ड or कूष्माण्ड does not occur in Vedic period; therefore it may be inferred that in Vedic period, only one word अलाबु (alābu) was common for all, as it is in Kashmiri today. Therefore the study

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Bhimbar another dialect starts and extends upto Poonch. This dialect is Pothohari which is a Pahari dialect but has considerable influence of Punjabi but it has a little affinity with Dogri also. The words which start with the vowel in Dogri retain their character in Pothohari as

Dogri	Pothohari	Punjabi
Kuthe	*Kuthe*	*Kithe*
Kus	*Kus*	*Kis*

But '*u*' becomes '*i*' in Punjabi. The *Marhā* (mine) is freely used in Dogri and Pothohari but it becomes *Mera* in Punjabi. The words such as *Jātak*, *Loon*, *Babb*, *Bhraū*, *Maū* and several other nouns are common in both.

On the Riasi hills there is multiplicity of Khas dialects and this area is called Khasali. The speakers of these dialects are Khas people who are mostly Thakkars and who are, probably, the original inhabitants of the Duggar. These sub-dialects, though numerous, are intelligible to the Khas people who are scattered all over this vast area.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has conducted some research work on these dialects but much remains to be done.

Then we pass on to the extreme North of Jammu in the Ramban Tehsil where we find an interesting dialect known as Surājī. This is spoken on the Doda mountain which is girdled by the river Chenab and is cut off from the rest of the area due to its non-accessibility. Surājī is divided into two belts-North and West. Northern belt is influenced by Kashmiri and the Western one has some resemblence with Dogri.

Dr. Varma's opinion about this dialect is very sound. He says in his article published in the Nami Chetna (Vol. 1, 1953) that Rambani (Surājī) retains pronominal suffixes, peculiar to Kashmiri, it has been classified among "Dardic Languages like Kashmiri, Shina etc."

In the Kishtwar area we notice that Kashmiri is predominent there and that is due to a large scale migration of Kashmiri

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population to this area. Kashmiri has completely compressed local dialects which are visible only in folk songs and local accent. As in Madhva, Wadwan and Dachhan areas of Kishtwar, Kashmiri is spoken in local, loose accent.

Then we come to the Bhadarwahi area on the East of Ramban. On account of mass migration of the Kashmiris to this side also Bhadarwahi has been influenced by Kashmiri but philologists will not find even a slight affinity of Kashmiri with Bhadarwahi. Accent is quite Pahari and folk tunes and songs of Chambā are sung in this place.

This is a very important Pahari dialect having close resemblance with Dogri. The only significant character of this dialect is that it has neuter gender unlike modern Indian languages and dialects.

Final vowels generally end in '*u*' sound in Bhadarwahi but this characteristic also exsits in Dogri. While making diminutives, this characteristic is amply used even in Dogri e.g.

Dogri	Dogri
Bakra (*He goat*)	*Bakru* (*Lamb*)
Bachha (*colt*)	*Bachhu* (*small colt*)
Ghora (*Horse*)	*Ghorhu* (*small Horse*)
Hathi (*Elephant*)	*Hathanu* (*small elephant*)
Nikka (*small*)	*Nikku* (*very small*)
Kurta (*shirt*)	*Kurutu* (*small shirt*)
Dhoti	*Doti*

But there are other words also which have final '*u*' as *Jānū Pachhānu, Manū, Jolnū, Pakharu.* This shows similarity of word formation between Dogri and Bhadarwahi.

On the North East of Jammu we find another group of Pahari dialects spoken on Bani and Billawar hills. Like Khas dialects these are very peculiar and interesting and all these bear relation to Dogri.

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On the East of Jammu Dogri spoken by Basohli people has influence of Chambiali Dogri. This dialect is quite interesting but it differs from Kandi Dogri in accentuation but it is very close to it.

The Mandali Dogri of Mandi and Suketar and Kangri Dogri also show close kinship with Dogri of Kandi Dogri.

Is Dogri a dialect?

There has been a controversy since long over the issue whether Dogri is a dialect or a language. Sir George Grierson has classed it as a dialect of Punjabi (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 637), but it will be more correct to call Dogri a dialect for its non-standardized character and lack of literature. But it is not a dialect of Punjabi.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the reputed linguist, has described it as an independent dialect but not as a dialect of Punjabi or any language.

There was a sort of controvery over this issue in the Punjab and some Punjabi Professors ventured to call Dogri a dialect of Punjabi and they gave reasons for this which were not convincing. If we apply these reasons to Punjabi, then one would hasten to class Punjabi as a dialect of Hindi. The main reason which they stressed was that Dogri is a border dialect and all such dialects are off-shoots of major languages contiguous to it. They have given a list of words of Punjabi being used in Dogri.

I have said in the beginning that Dogri of the Plains has considerable influence of Punjabi because of its contiguity with the Punjab and the peoples' relations and associations with the Punjabis. But it is interesting to note that Dogri has not been influenced by the West Punjab but Punjabi spoken in the Sialkot Tehsil was greatly influenced by Dogri. The people of that area used several original Dogri words and their accent was also quite peculiar to the Punjabi of Majha.

When a man visits Jammu city or Ranbirsinghpura Tehsil he finds marked agreement between Punjabi and Dogri but

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the moment he reaches interior of Udhampur District, his idea that Dogri is dialect of Punjabi vanishes altogether. Even Dogri of this area is quite unintelligible for him.

After the partition of the Punjab the traffic of the Punjabi words in Dogri has stopped and now Dogri of the Plains is slowly losing its Punjabi influence.

Dr. Varma in his article published in the Nami Chetna (Vol. 1, 1953) says:—

"Those who have closely watched Dogri language as actually heard by Punjabi speakers must admit that hardly ten per cent of Dogri could be understood by a Punjabi speaker. The test of a dialect when taken as the form of a language of 'spontaneous intelligibility', the dialect must be understood without any effort of an interpreter. In the light of this test Dogri cannot be called a dialect of Punjabi, nor is there any proof that it can be called the dialect of any Pahari language. Hence it is more reasonable to call Dogri a language in the sense of an independent dialect."

This is the opinion of a great linguist who has keenly studied the phonology of Dogri. Dr. Varma has called Dogri a frontier language and giving reasons he says:—

1. They tend to retain some features of one group of languages and some of the other groups e.g. ancient Hittite spoken in Mesopotamia has grammatical features of Indo-European, but its vocabulary was from languages other than Indo-European. Similarly, the dialect spoken in Ramban has many features in common with Dogri, but as it retains pronominal suffixes peculiar to Kashmir, it has been classed among 'Dardic' languages like Kashmiri, Shina etc."

"These languages," writes Dr. Varma, "offer complications which are often baffling to the philologists, for being living phenomena, they are not mere arithmetical collection of neighbouring linguistic features, but also undergo new developments of their own, the origin of which is sometimes

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difficult to trace; for instance Dogri may be called a '*Sh*' language for where Punjabi or Hindi has '*Chh*', Dogri has '*Sh*'. What is the origin of this '*Sh*' in Dogri? The answer is that it is a further development, made by Dogri, of the loose pronunciation of '*Chh*' in Kashmir and Pahari ; for in these languages '*Chh*' is still pronounced somewhat like '*tz*'." But apart from the view of an eminent linguist there are other clear reasons which guarantee Dogri's independent character.

It has its own script which is still prevalent in the Jammu Province. The Dogra businessmen generally keep their accounts in this script. The script as well as Dogri language was once recognized by the courts.

There are numerous copper plates and rock inscriptions in the Dogri language and Dogri script. During the reign of Maharaja Ranbirsingh (1858-1885) Dogri was given official status and some books in Dogri on various subjects were also compiled. An attempt was also made for standardization of this language but the Dogri of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's period has considerable shades of Hindi.

Since the past few years Dogri writers are creating literature and now over 60 books on poetry, drama, stories, novels and criticism have appeared. All the Dogri writers are influenced by Hindi and not by Punjabi.

Influence of Other Languages on Dogri

Sanskrit

Like other languages, Hindi, Bengali etc., Dogri has not got much Sanskrit influence on it, but still several *Tatsama* Sanskrit words exist in it. These words are freely used in Dogri.

Gograās	*Sankalp*	*Pankti*		*Panktbhet*
Japtap	*Dharam*	*Jagatri*		*Sukhdukh*
Nimantran	*Shwas*	*Bhog*		*Charanamrit*
Sanskar	*Karan*	*Vidya*	*Pind*	*Stuti*
Vedan	*Pran*	*Mund*	*Neet*	*Sharan*

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glānā (verb) in Dogri is directly derived from Sanskrit root *glai*.

But there are hundreds of Sanskrit words which are pronounced in Dogri according to the suitability of the speaker. E.g.

Tadbhava	Tatsama
Sog	*Shok*
Lakkhan	*Lakhyana*
Bharam	*Bhram*
Sudh	*Shudh*
Chaintā	*Chintā*
Masājni	*Masibhājan*
Sis	*Ashīsh*
Srāp	*Shrāp*
Barlāp	*Virlāp*
Narōg	*Nirōg*
Navēd	*Naivēd*
Sagandh	*Saughandh*
Satvāh	*Saptāh*
Rukh	*Rukhya*
Kainkhyā	*Akānkhyā*
Barat	*Vrat*
Īrkhā	*Īrshyā*
Kaint	*Kānt*
Santōkh	*Santōsh*
Mūrat	*Mūrati*
Maintra	*Mantra*
Janam	*Janam*
Sūrbīr	*Shūrvīr*
Gāsa	*Akāsh*

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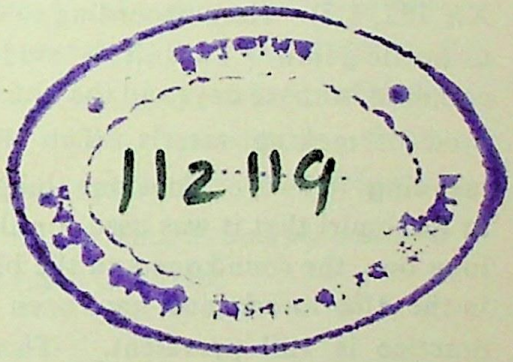
Persian

Persian has greatly influenced Dogri. Several Persian words exist in it in original form but most of these are accentuated differently. E.g.—

Dogri	Persian
Phikar	*Phikra*
Marād	*Murād*
Jurat	*Jurrat*
Majāj	*Mijāz*
Ejjat	*Izzat*
Baijjati	*Beizzati*
Tasabbar	*Tasavvar*
Kiyas	*Qiyasa*
Kartūt	*Kartūt*
Shukar	*Shukra*



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THE KASHMIRI WORD अल्

(A Historical and Comparative Study)

Dr. Harihar Prasad Gupta, Srinagar

The word अल् has a great significance from the point of Indology and linguistics. The question whether the word belongs to Indo-Aryan family or to Austric is yet to be decided.

The word अल् means in Kashmiri bottle gourd. (Latin. *Lagenaria vulgaris*). It is used for Pumpkin (Lat. *cucurbita moschota*) also. But the first one i.e. the bottle gourd is treated as native product and the other one as foreign one. Therefore the former one is called as कशर अल् (कशर meaning कश्मीरी) and the latter as परिय अल् (परिय meaning foreign). The Ash gourd (Lat. *Benincasa hispida*) which is called पेठा or सफेद कुम्हडा or मूरा कुम्हड़ा in Hindi is not found here.

As regards the history of the word it goes to the Vedic period. According to the Vedic Index (by Macdonell and Keith) the word *alābu* meaning bottle gourd occurs in Atharvaveda (VIII. 10, 29, 30 ; XX 132, 1.2). Here according to the Index it means vessels made of bottle gourd. Thus it is evident that bottle gourd was very common in those days and the bitter gourd (one of its varieties) was used for making vessels. This अल् is called स्येठ अल् in Kashmiri meaning तिक्त अल्. Thus one thing is clear from the use of अल् in Kashmiri that it was used for all the three kinds of gourds, the long one, the round one and the bitter one. The vessels mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* must have been made of the bitter gourd as the practice is still prevalent. Therefore the point worth noting is that Kashmiri is the only language, as far as I know, in which अल् is used for all the three gourds. The Sanskrit word कुष्माण्ड or कूष्माण्ड does not occur in Vedic period ; therefore it may be inferred that in Vedic period, only one word अलाबु (alābu) was common for all, as it is in Kashmiri today. Therefore the study

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of Kashmiri is very esential for the proper understanding of the Vedic Sanskrit and for the historical development of the same. It seems that Kashmiri is the nearest to the Vedic Sanskrit even today.

Now let us go in some detail into the historical development of the Vedic word अलाबु. According to Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary the word अलाबु occurs in Mahāvīrcarita I, and in Manusmṛti 6.44 in neuter gender. (किं हि नामैतत् अंबुनि मज्जंत्यलाबूनि ग्रावाण: प्लवन्त इति-महा० १. ३९/४०)

I have found that the word अलाबूनि has been used by Caraka also, in चरकसंहिता सूत्रस्थान २७/१०८ "वर्चोभेदीन्यलाबूनि रूक्ष-शीत-गुरूणि च।" चरक has mentioned अलाबु in his शाकवर्ग.

The word कूष्माण्ड, पेठा in Hindi, has also been used by चरक in the same chapter. कूष्माण्डमुक्तं सक्षारं मधुराम्लं तथा लघु १०९. Thus it is clear that the word अलाबु was common in the days of चरक।

Suśruta also mentions अलाबु in शाकवर्ग "शाकान्यत ऊर्द्धं वक्ष्याम:। तत्र पुष्पफलालाबुकालिंदकप्रभृतीनि", ४६. २११. Here पुष्पफल has been used for कूष्माण्डकम् and अलाबु for the bottle gourd. As regards the qualities of अलाबु Suśruta agrees with Caraka saying अलाबुर्भिन्नविट्का तु रूक्षा गुर्व्यतिशीतला" He mentions तिक्त अलाबु also "तिक्तालाबुरहृद्या तु वामिनी वातपित्तजित् ४६/२१५" Suśruta has mentioned अलाबु in रसविशेषविज्ञानीयाध्याय (४२) in the category of मधुरवर्ग "काकोल्यादि:×क्षीरघृत-वसामज्जा-शालिषष्टिक-यवगोधूममाषशृंगाटक-कसेरुक-त्रपुसैर्वारु-कर्कारुकालाबूकालिंदकतक ××कूष्माण्डप्रभृतीनि समासेन मधुरो वर्ग:॥" ४२.११. Thus in Suśruta Saṁhitā both अलाबु and कूष्माण्ड have been counted in मधुरवर्ग.

In Pāli अलाबु and लाबु two forms are found. It is siginificant that the initial अ was sometimes retained and sometimes dropped in Pāli. This denotes that when the stress shifted to 'ला' the intial अ was dropped. In Pāli these forms are feminine like Sanskrit अलाबु: and अलाबू।

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In Prākṛt the final consonant was dropped and अलावु, लावु became अलाउ and लाउ respectively. Hemacandra in his Prākṛt Vyākaraṇa writes "वालाब्वरण्येलुक् ११९/६६ explaining "अलाब्वरण्य-शब्दयोरादेरस्य लुग् वा भवति। लाउं अलाउं। लाऊ अलाऊ। रण्णं अरण्णं॥ अत इत्येव।

In modern Indo-Aryan language therefore we find two forms developing from अलावु or अलाउ and the other form लावु or लाउ. With the later one Asāmi, Bengali, Bihari and Oriya लाउ is related. In Bhojpuri dialect it is लौआ or लौकी, in Nepali it is लौकी and in Kumaoni it is लौको and लौका. With the former form i.e. अलाउ the 'Malin' आव् and a Kashmri अल् are related.

The point which is to be noted here is this that neither in Gujarati nor in Marathi the word अलावु or its developed form is found. Thus this word is only prevalent in Himalayan region, Madhyadesh and in Eastern languages of India.

Prof. J. Przyluski has mentioned that in Java and Malay the word is common in this very sense (Journal of Asiatic Society 1926) and therefore he thinks that the word अलावु belongs originally to Austro-Asiatic family.

To sum up the word अल् in Kashmir is of great importance for the linguists and its origin, history and development, all aspects need research.

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